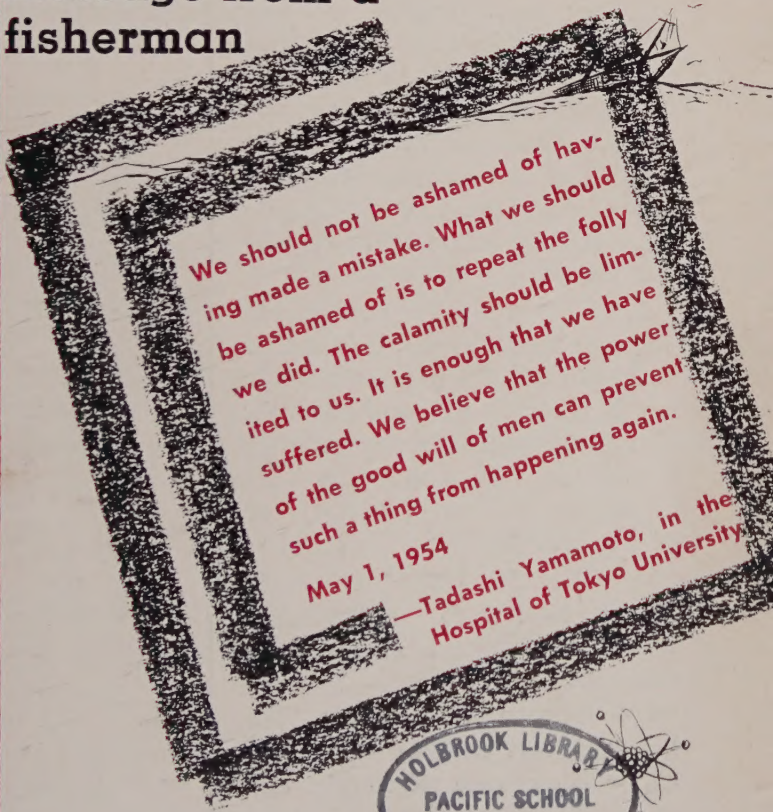
JULY, 1954

Fellowship

message from a fisherman


We should not be ashamed of having made a mistake. What we should be ashamed of is to repeat the folly we did. The calamity should be limited to us. It is enough that we have suffered. We believe that the power of the good will of men can prevent such a thing from happening again.
May 1, 1954
—Tadashi Yamamoto, in the Hospital of Tokyo University

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. . . report on the bomb

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ff There are those for whom the disclosure of the existence and size of the H-bomb and other "horror weapons" poses no new moral problems with respect to war.

In one sense at least they are right. There is a basic moral question confronted at the moment that one man proposes to kill another, for whatever reasons and by whatever means. In this sense the question of war has not altered fundamentally between the day of the flung spear or the catapulted stone and the nightmare of destruction that is called war today.

But if there is no new moral problem posed by the H-bomb, it is certain that the old moral problem is posed in a new dimension. Can any ends justify such means? Is anything left of the "just war" or of the illusion of victory, or of defense?

The editors felt that there would be an advantage to gathering what is in effect a summary of the case against war—H-bomb war—between two covers. We hope "Report on the Bomb" will carry its message effectively, and add to the growing weight of those who say with all their strength: "No more!"

FELLOWSHIP

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"The Bomb that Fell on America," on page 56, is from the book-length poem of the same title, and is reproduced by permission of the publisher, Association Press.

The race that ends

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LFRED HASSLER

F THE AMERICAN people could know the full implications of the tomic and hydrogen bombs," wrote n observer recently, "there would e such a revulsion of feeling that ne entire nuclear program might e jeopardized."

It is as hard to believe the coment exaggerated as it is to imagine hat more information people need nan they already have. To paraphrase one commentator on the ubject, it is difficult to see what ffect the news of a bomb that ould destroy three-quarters of the lobe could have on people unafected by one that can destroy half ne globe.

Nevertheless, there is a sense in hich the full implications of the ew weapons appear not to have enetrated very deeply into most eople's consciousness. Or perhaps the public apathy is a symptom of the pervasive feeling of deep helplessness that arises from the threefold problem of these colossally destructive weapons, the global deathlock with world communism, and the concentration of power in a few men in our own country. The human mind appears to be capable of going to the most extreme lengths to avoid contact with a reality with which it feels incapable of coping.

But the problem remains, and it is literally the life-and-death problem of every man, woman and child on earth. Each living individual has a stake in it no less than that of the Presidents and Prime Ministers and generals. It is not simply individual lives that are endangered by such weapons, but Life itself, and the conditions under

which life can exist. Because this is so, the importance of the H-bomb far transcends such other grave issues as intervention in Indo-China or peace in Korea.

The evolution of modern war that began when the first cannon was fired has come to its full fruition in an impending conflict that can literally depopulate whole nations, or even continents, including our own. Because that is so, and because through history men have risen in revolt against far less comprehensive threats, it is tempting to believe that an "informed people" would rebel.

We Are "Informed" Now

But what more do we need to know?

We know that there are jet planes. We see them streaking across the skies, trailing their thunder far behind them as they outrace sound itself. We know that with them the remotest corners of the earth are only hours away from anywhere, and that war can and will be global in a way that it has never been before.

We know of the experiments with guided missiles that soar 150 miles above the earth at incredible speeds and may, for all we know, already have been perfected to the point where they, too, can streak across oceans and continents to strike unerringly at defenseless cities.

We know that in our own country men trained in medical science, kin to the Hippocratic oath never to use their skill except to save life, are breeding and storing germs virulent beyond anything produced by nature, capable of spreading plagues among people, animals and crops. We can assume safely that in the laboratories of a dozen other nations equally devoted scientists are breeding and storing equally virulent germs for use on our people, animals and crops.

We know that in our own country at least one arsenal is working full time, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, to produce and store the poison GB, the vapor from three drops of which is enough to kill a human being in four minutes by paralyzing his nervous system.

And we know of the bombs—atomic, hydrogen, cobalt.

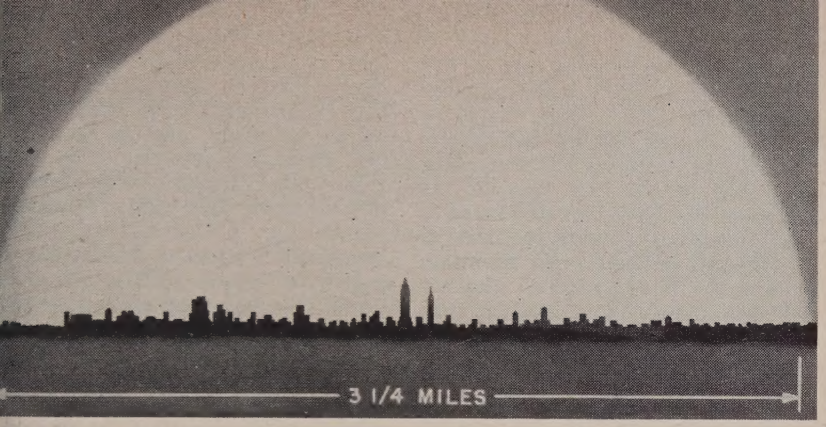
What else is there to know about the bombs?

The atomic bomb is old stuff. The one that dropped—the one that the United States dropped—on Hiroshima in 1945 totally destroyed that city and killed somewhere around 100,000 people. It was the equivalent of 10,000 tons of TNT, about as much as flights of hundreds of planes could drop on a German city in continuous raids lasting a week or more. Today's atomic bombs are reported as six to eight times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb.

A-Bomb Only "Trigger"

But the atomic bomb is old stuff now that we have the hydrogen bomb. Some of the A-bombs certainly will be retained to wipe out the smaller cities, but the word is that most of them will be used as "triggers" for new H-bombs.

The H-bomb's power is measured in megatons—millions of tons of TNT. The one exploded in the Marshall Islands in the fall of 1952 —Operation Ivy—measured fourteen megatons, or the equivalent of 1400 Hiroshima-type A-bombs. Later ones have been three times as powerful as Ivy.



The Federal Civil Defense Administration's artist toys with the idea of what would happen if the thermonuclear device exploded in the Marshall Islands were dropped on the Empire State Building. The light arc represents the fireball, with temperatures higher than those of the sun itself, extending from Washington Square to Central Park.

One magazine[2] pointed out that single H-bomb dropped on Phila-lphia, besides killing several illion people outright by its initial ast, would spread radioactive ıst over an area 350 miles in ameter, so dangerous that this tire area would have to be acuated. The magazine did not ɔor the impossibility of the task, t simply noted that this area cluded five of the largest cities the Eastern seaboard. Nor did emphasize the fact that the pothesis of being hit by just one mb is an extremely unlikely one, d that the dropping of four or e strategically placed H-bombs ɔuld leave the entire East Coast th no place to go even if there re a way to get there. And what true of the East Coast is equally ıe of any other section of the ıntry. Even the remotest farmer or woodsman is almost as vulnerable as the apartment dweller in the center of the city.

There is another side to this, too, of course, and for the moral man, the religious man, it should be at least of equal importance. This is, clearly, that in an H-bomb war our bombs would be doing equally horrible things to "their" cities and people.

It seems to need to be spelled out. So many people were able to equate Nazis with German babies in the last war, and to look through the Norden bombsight at a child playing in the street and convince themselves they saw Adolf Hitler. So many people already are capable of sanctioning the slaughter of millions of Russian children in the belief that they are somehow striking the Soviet Presidium and Georgi Malenkov.

If religion means anything—particularly the religion professed by

[2] *U. S. News and World Report*, April 954.

most Americans—it must mean that there is a point beyond which the religious man will not go in committing evil, even though the price be his own life or the life of his family and country. Christianity often has meant just that, to its glory, in the lives of individuals who would not, to save themselves and their loved ones, put so much as a pinch of incense before Caesar's image. It is hard to believe that the mind of man, or the mind of Satan, could conceive of a point at which the religious or the moral man of the Twentieth Century will draw the line if he does not draw it at the point of using the hydrogen bomb on his fellow human beings!

Why Do We Continue?

Why then, in the face of the terrors for ourselves and the horror of what we would inflict on others, do most Americans tolerate the continued development and stockpiling of these weapons? Apart from the neurotic and unimaginative ones whose reaction to the twin crises of H-bomb and communism is to drop the one on the other, there are millions of Americans as aware as pacifists of the danger to themselves, and more millions as sensitive as pacifists to the evil implicit in the use of the bomb. Why do they not cry out against it?

The answer for the first group lies in the near-hysterical attitude many of us Americans now hold toward communism and Communists. Communists have long since ceased to look like other human beings, with the same capabilities and the same frailities as non-Communist human beings. They are demons for us now, looming over us in awful threat and armed with a shrewdness and strength somehow supernatural. To defend ourselves and our "way of life" agains this onslaught from the under world, no risks are too great, n evil deeds too wicked.

So penetrating a thinker a Elmer Davis has said, "Better n world than a Communist one." I is a foolish remark, indicating th depth of hysteria that grips us Even the worst of tyrannies pass Even the most efficient dictators di or are deposed. Our own propa gandists have repeated again an again that dictatorship carrie within it the seeds of its own dis integration. So long as men live they can keep alive the love o freedom, and sooner or later wi it back for themselves. But only i they live. When life has been obli terated—but the point is too ob vious for comment.

Communist conquest need no be the alternative to hydrogen wa but even if it were, it would b infinitely preferable to the oblitera tion of life from the earth.

The "Deterrent" Effect

But this is not the principal de fense of those who defend the ac cumulation of these horror weap ons. That is the alleged "deter rent" effect of the bombs. Th choice need be neither war no conquest, they say: by maintainin military power equal or superio to that of the Communists, we ca avoid both. No nation, aware th an attack would bring immedia retaliation in kind, would da start a war with such weapons.

It is a beguiling argument th has engaged the affections of n only the State Department but th press, the vast majority of th clergy, and almost everyone els

It is the last argument, since

is destroyed there is no frag-ent of intellectual or ethical de-nse remaining for the methods war. It is unfortunate that for any people its claims will not destroyed until the war has oken out, when it will be too te.

It is also a specious argument, ll of holes. The biggest ones are dicated below:

1. *It never has worked before.* me supporters of the "deterrent" gument assert that neither the rst nor the Second World War ould have occurred if the United tates had been "prepared" and ermany had known it would fight. The statement is fallacious. It as-mes that these wars began simply ut of German bellicoseness, hereas all kinds of economic, lonial and nationalistic rivalries elped bring both wars about. oreover, both wars erupted in e middle of a continent that was rmed to the teeth on the very rounds that such arming was ecessary to prevent war. When e Nazi legions marched into Po-nd they did so in defiance of a rench army almost universally cknowledged by military experts be the most powerful in the orld, and a British navy strong ough to dominate the sea ap-oaches to all Europe.

There is no doubt that an over-helming preponderance of mili-ry power on one side sometimes aintains a precarious peace, as ith the Roman Empire. Another ch precarious peace was managed Europe during the Nineteenth ntury by the British, who shifted eir strength from one side to the her to maintain a balance of wer. In neither case, however, as military strength divided as evenly as it is now between two colossi, and in both cases the peace ended in war when the coerced peoples felt themselves strong enough to challenge the coercing power.

2. *It does not deal with the underlying problems.* In answer to an article by A. J. Muste, Dr. John C. Bennett admitted that military power alone "can do no more than gain time for us. If we do not fill that time with bold and constructive efforts to help nations tempted by Communism find alternatives to Communism, we shall probably fail in the end."[3]

The medical understanding of the mechanism and nature of radiation injury is still quite primitive. What is known is that a blast can kill by doing direct physical violence. But the insidious nature of radiation injury which produces late disease long removed from the date of exposure, is not well understood. It can be safely predicted that the toll of late injury to the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and to later generations, has not yet been counted.

Nor for that matter has been counted the unknown late injury to those innocents throughout the world who have inhaled the "fall out" from recent Pacific tests, or have eaten or will eat contaminated fish. It is to be remembered that while the blast destroys the bomb itself, radioactive material is liberated which might be active indefinitely.

—**Mortimer R. Camiel, M.D.**
***New York Times*, April 9, 1954**

But the inescapable fact about an arms race on the scale of the present one is that in itself it rules out such "bold and constructive efforts."

In the first place, the business of

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[3] *Christianity and Crisis*, June 14, 1954

maintaining the armed forces and their bases and equipment costs so much that both Congress and the public are predisposed against the kind of extensive economic help that would be indispensable to these "bold and constructive efforts." A reading of almost any day's papers will offer ample evidence of this fact.

Psychologically Impossible

Even more important is the psychological impossibility of carrying on both programs at once. To keep public support for the arms program it is necessary to promulgate a highly simplified explanation of the world struggle. The threat of imminent attack must be kept constantly before the public's consciousness, and this threat must be interpreted in terms of the wicked aggressiveness of the enemy. Communism becomes a demonic force that attracts its adherents by fear and hypnosis, and we are kept increasingly on the alert for the faintest manifestations of its infection within our own ranks. Such phenomena as Senator McCarthy are ample evidence of what this kind of atmosphere produces.

To win public support for a "bold and constructive effort to help nations . . . find alternatives to Communism," on the other hand, would require open acknowledgement of vast inequalities and injustices in the status quo we are defending. It would mean confessing the powerful appeal that Communism makes to the dispossessed of the earth, and the exploitation and injustice in much of the West's actions. It would mean, in trying to show the Indo-Chinese the democratic alternative to Communism, for example, a total rejection of French colonialism in that country, as well as a refusal to support for military purposes such anti-democratic forces as those of Franco in Spain.

Since the two attitudes proceed in almost diametrically opposite directions, it is impossible to keep the major emphasis on arms and at the same time give a similar major emphasis to dealing with the underlying issues of hunger disease and nationalism. Again, the record of this country's actions during the past ten years, in which every major effort at foreign aid has been tied to military alliances is ample demonstration of this fact.

3. *Arms races do not stand still.* "Europe's political scientists," reports one magazine, "insist that the goal of any sane H-bomb policy can only be *not* to drop it. . . . Such a policy, however, must be carried out by cool heads and steady nerves."[4]

Fatal Weakness

This, above all, is the fatal weakness of the "deterrent" argument the assumption of "cool heads and steady nerves." It is probably conceivable that if all the decisions were left in the hands of a very few individuals on both sides, unconditionally, enough men of genuinely steely nerves might be found who could avoid war for an indefinite period. This is, however an impossible hypothesis.

In democracy and dictatorship alike, preparations for total war require the support and approval of the large majority of the population. To get that support requires the kind of constant state of alarm and apprehension referred to above. We will not pay a fourth of our income for H-bombs and the

[4] *World*, January, 1954

anes to carry them unless we be-
ve that the threat of the enemy's
-bombs is imminent and constant.
the enemy—his aggressive in-
ntions, his military strength—
ust be played up all the time, to
ep us in a continuous state of
ar-terror. And, with variations,
e same thing happens in reverse
ith the enemy's people.

In such a state of tension, we
opose to build up larger and
rger stockpiles of bigger and
gger bombs, so that the enemy's
ar of our ability to retaliate will
ep him from striking the first
ow. But simultaneously the
emy will also build up larger and
rger stockpiles of bigger and
gger bombs with the argument
at *our* fear of his ability to re-
liate will keep *us* from striking
e first blow (since the Russian
nfidence in our non-aggressive
tentions must be considered some-
hat weaker than our own).

But fear works both ways. As we
t on our bombs, we *shall* be fear-
l of the enemy's ability to re-
liate. *We shall also increasingly*
ow to fear that he will strike
e first blow anyway, being the
emonic sort of character we have
nvinced ourselves he is. And the
emy will be experiencing the
me fears about us!

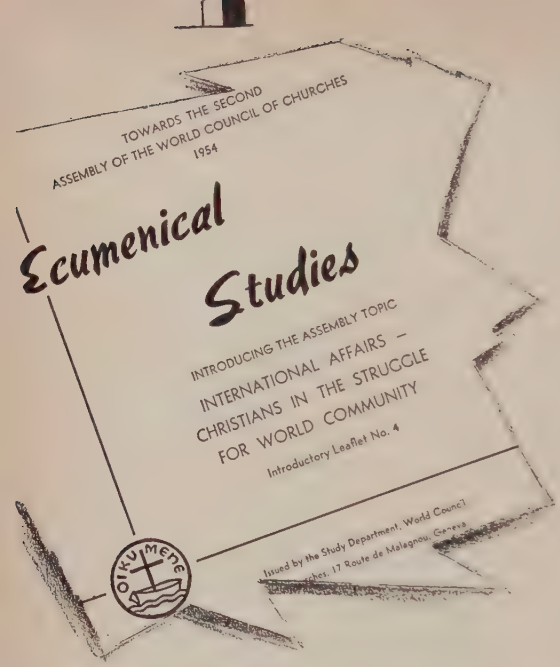
Which side breaks first and
kes the desperate chance of strik-
ing one swift and paralyzing blow is less important than the certainty that in such a situation one side or the other eventually will break. The very unprecedentedness of the power of the bombs on which "deterrence" is based is the fact that will make it inevitable.

There is another important aspect to this. Such an equation, of two powers confronting each other for decades across their piles of bombs, assumes a static situation, and the world is not static. The ferment through Asia, the Near East and Africa will continue and grow stronger. As indigenous Communist movements, aided by Russia and China, extend the promises of freedom that we do not, the Communist hold on the world will grow stronger. Eventually, we shall feel ourselves isolated, pushed back against a wall, with most of the world arrayed against us. At what point in that fatal progression of events will our resolution break, and we risk everything on that one swift blow? It would be a brave and foolish prophet to say that no such time will ever come!

It is a grim but accurate picture. War has come to the end of the road. It has nothing to offer us now but death, and the only hope that remains lies in renouncing it utterly and moving into new areas of political and social action.

Every Bible we pick up has radioactive dust on it now, every bite we eat, every leaf we see in the breeze, every child in its cradle. Since the H-bomb tests, Geiger counters on any square mile of earth show silent infinitesimal flakes of man's ingenuity and tragedy. Like distrust in high places, it is an insinuating sinister pall over us all.

—*Kirkridge Contour*, May, 1954



Evanston and the H-Bomb

by George Miles Gibson

EACH SUCCESSIVE improvement in the means of destruction points up the one problem common to all of them. Just now it is the hydrogen bomb, tomorrow it may be the cobalt. The atom bomb of Hiroshima is a dated number as the fears it engendered are transferred to bigger and better thunderbolts.

Each weapon in turn revives the old fears; scientists, moralists, statesmen and the common folk cry for peace, setting themselves frantically to finding the next and yet stronger power to enforce it. The fear must change its name to keep from being found out as the one underlying cause of all conflict: air-power, gas-power, flame-power, Big Bertha, blockbuster, germ-power, atoms, hydrogen or cobalt; and always the "secret weapon" boasted by all and dreaded more deeply than any. Her Majesty's government now claims to have th weapon of all weapons, unknow even to the United States, and t her own House of Commons a well.

The same fear but with new in tensity and depth. Here the Com mons question the Prime Minist as to the recent experimental blas that got out of hand, and of th undersea atom explosions recorde "Can the Prime Minister tell u how many have been recorded How many are known to be o Russian origin? How many American or British?" "Can he in

George M. Gibson is professor of homiletics at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. He wrote this article while in England.

orm the public as to the hazard of uclear fission undersea to the en- re world?"

The Prime Minister is not pre- ared to make a report: the facts re not all in and such facts as are nown to the government may not e revealed without informing the nemy of the efficiency of our ap- aratus. The public is held in gnorance, "in the interest of the ublic welfare."

Coventry, known to all the world or history's most unique horse- ack ride, comes up with the most nique, and perhaps the most ensible answer to the problem of ydrogen. It simply discontinues s home-defense program. And nore, the Town Council stand by heir decision under pressure from he Home Secretary. Their position s stated concisely: we will resume he home-defense program when he Government tell us what de- ense against nuclear power is. Let ny government answer that, in lain words as they are answering n frantic deeds, and the utter in- anity of the world position would tand starkly revealed.

Theology's Responsibility

What is the responsibility of heology in all this? Well, it is not o make resolutions and to ramify ndlessly only to come out with imid echoes of the confusions of overnments; it is not to find new nd unintelligible ways of stating noral ambiguities; it is not to turn he promises of faith into profes- ional problems, nor to present the ope which is in Christ Jesus as espair. The theology involved is he whole of Christian thought and, vhich is far more important, the vhole of Christian faith.

It is the belief that God the Creator is also the Redeemer, that the Christ of the Cross is the Christ of resurrection. It is rigorous commitment to the will of the Father revealed in the Son, the full acceptance of the simple fact that one cannot serve two masters.

This is the dead center of the complex problem posed by the hydrogen bomb. It is the same problem posed by rifle ball and incendiary, gas and germ, demolition bombs and secret rays. It presses the one question, demanding one answer, the question of ultimate power. We may trust Him to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, or we may trust the evolution of weapons yet more dreadful than nuclear bombs. The one thing that cannot be done is to trust both together. It is logically, morally, and every other way impossible. In utter fact, we cannot serve two masters; the center of the whole problem is that we think we can.

The Church must say this at Evanston, and then go home to say it to the governments and the people. If it should do no more than reproduce some of the moral ambiguities of the past—— but that cannot be contemplated; the Church must speak, simply, strongly, unequivocally, in its true character, representing nothing but Christ and acknowledging him as Lord of All.

Church Bodies Meet

This is the season of the great Church gatherings in these islands, and all show concern with the imminent prospect of global destruction. Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist assemblies are being held in England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. The British Council of Churches, representing all Protestantism, and independently called

meetings representing nothing but themselves, meet and discuss the problem. All manage to get something said, but a coverage of conclusions is impossible. We report only the essence of the clearest and strongest resolution we have seen, and suggest it as a challenge and guide for Evanston. It comes from the Congregational Union of Scotland, with the unanimous backing of that important branch of the Church.

By-passing theological circumlocutions, the resolution "calls on the Great Powers to put the interests of the whole world before all lesser interests and to act together to bring about an *immediate halt* to the race in armaments; the quickest possible abolition of all armaments and armed forces not required for enforcing, under the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace; and the fullest use of the world's resources to combat ignorance, poverty and disease." The statement continues:

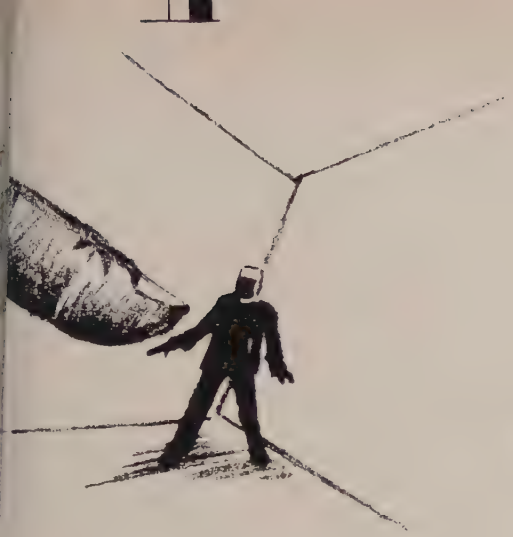
"The application of science to the development of ever more devastating weapons of mass destruction, now threatens nothing less than the survival of the human race. The knowledge of their dreadful consequences is not itself enough to prevent the outbreak of war, or to prevent the use of these weapons in the event of war, and the challenge to all peoples today in every country is therefore *to abolish war and the means of waging war* . . . without which the latest war weapons would have no use or meaning."

If Evanston will speak like that on this matter it will go far toward defining the Council theme, *Christ, the Hope of the World*, and recalling the loyalties of all Christians to His sovereignty.

"The British, living in a densely populated small island, are conscious of the possibility of the death of their civilization in a modern war. Everybody keeps a stiff upper lip, old boy, but for perhaps the first time in history reflective men have had to grapple with the pacifists' question: can national interests and human values really be served by waging a war with atomic and hydrogen weapons?

"No government will or can give an answer to this question, but it is already affecting government policies—Eisenhower's as well as Churchill's—in areas far from home. The disturbing thing about it is that United States and Britain officials do not really talk the question through. . . . "

—James Reston, in the
New York Times, June 27, 1954



Showdown for the Church

by George MacLeod

Scottish clergyman; founder of Iona Community

THE H-BOMB is the showdown for the Church. The showdown is: Can the Church afford to be other than pacifist now, whatever the consequence?

Showdowns never come suddenly; they are the climax of a sequence of events.

Like a freight train shunting, with the kling-kling of colliding cars till the caboose takes the heaviest bump. The H-bomb is the caboose bump at the end of a long sequence. This is a short article, so we must make it a short train: no more than three cars and the caboose.

The Church has always been worried about war and its weapons. The degeneration of its witness in this regard can be conveyed in three cars.

Car one: For its first three centuries the Church was a minority and persecuted as such. All Christians were pacifist then, not merely because of such demands as "Resist not evil" but because the bodies—and not just the spirits—of men were considered holy. Many Christians were then martyred for refusing to bear arms; while such a famous saint as Martin, spiritual father of Ninian and Columba, resigned, at his conversion, his commission in the army as incompatible with his holy calling.

Car two: Issues got difficult when Christianity became the official religion of the state. The Emperor of Rome was now himself

NOTE. This article appeared originally in the April 4, issue of the *Scottish Sunday Express*. Used by permission.

a Christian. He also was at war on every frontier. So Christian leaders began to define what could be a "just war" to justify Christians taking blood.

Even then, St. Basil the Great (374 A.D.) recommended that Christian soldiers who had shed blood should abstain from Communion for three years.

The conditions that justified Christians taking part in war remained practically unaltered for centuries. The most important condition was that the end justify the means—the benefit from a successful war must be of such substance as would make worthwhile the sad methods employed.

When the Reformation came along the Reformers took over these rules. But little groups kept bobbing up, declaring that these conditions were unworthy compromises. The last, and still lasting, such group was the Society of Friends. They again asserted the holiness of bodies, made in the image of Christ. As all the other groups, they were persecuted.

"Bloodiness Indiscriminate"

Car three: The next "bump" of our train was into modern times. High explosives began to make the bloodiness indiscriminate. Gas began to choke civilians as well as soldiers. Bombs from the air, directed at military targets, mistakenly killed civilians by the score in the 1914-1918 war. Bombs from the air were then aimed at civilians—in Abyssinia—and killed them by the hundreds.

Around the 'Thirties this car nearly left the train. As "control" degenerated, groups within the historic denominations found themselves pacifist. At that time the Church of Scotland had a commission sitting for two years. It was forced to issue a "parallel" report of the pacifist and nonpacifist positions. It is noteworthy that the nonpacifists there—even so recently—declared that if there was a deliberate attack by our own forces on the civilian population the Church would have to withdraw its support of the war, even at the risk of defeat. It was the time when Hitler was rearming and Britain was shilly-shallying.

I remember saying, in that General Assembly debate, that the idea of withdrawing in the middle of war was so fantastic, and Britain at that time so divided, that if the Church was to give a lead, it must make up its mind either to become pacifist or to recall to power a man named Winston Churchill—then rusticating out of office—to arm us properly.

I still recall the laughter in the Asembly at the fantasy of either suggestion.

Bombing of Citizens

So we reach the caboose. The deliberate bombing of civilians—without Church protest—had its climax in the bombing of Dresden. At least 100,000 civilians were killed. Mothers fled their houses with babies in their arms, only to be drawn to death by the suction of the flames in the narrow streets.

Then Hiroshima, with (for me) the final monstrosity that while many mothers, with children still in the womb, were uncontaminated, the mystery of radioactivity destroyed without exception all their unborn babies. And now the H-bomb, with square miles of fields to be made infertile for scores of years.

It is good of President Eisenhower to calm us with the assurance that one explosion would not actually *level* a large city; it would merely put it out of commission," with, we may presume, only half of the inhabitants permanently entombed. Frankly, would not most families prefer that all of us be levelled together?

The H-bomb is the showdown for the Church.

What is the word of the Church, faced with such a shambles as the inevitable content of any future war? Frankly, the Church's answer at the present moment is a spiritual shambles. The doctrine of the "just war" is exploded for good. We are left with just war. The church of the Prince of Peace drifts with the helpless world of men.

Initiative with Pacifists

The vast majority of churchmen are still nonpacifist, though I have the instinct that the initiative is now with the pacifists. At any rate, in a Midland town recently a pacifist clergyman offered to argue his case in the light of the H-bomb in public debate with any nonpacifist clergyman. But the debate was cancelled after twenty-three nonpacifist clergymen had been personally approached, and, with one consent, declined.

I issue a similar challenge to any clergyman who reads these lines. And I present him now with the notes of my speech at such a meeting. These notes are the conclusions of this article.

For me, at any rate, the whistle has blown. I remain a reluctant pacifist.

Reluctant because I still prefer the company of most soldiers whom I meet to most pacifists whom I meet. No soldier whom I know today is in any way bloody-minded. That is not the point.

Reluctant because, novice pacifist though I was in the last war, I was never more miserable in my life, eating the food that others died to bring to me. There was something wrong with our witness. We were not robust. We were muted, strangled by our old school tie. Perhaps it would have been better had we gone to prison.

Reluctant because of the appalling responsibility of dissociating oneself from one's country, most beloved, in its hour of need.

Yet pacifist because "there is one thing mightier than armies, an idea whose hour has come."

Pacifist because I am a Christian and now bereft of any doctrine of a just war. The end no longer justifies the means.

There is only one enemy on the horizon—Russia. The final precious gift we have which they have lost is our Christian belief in the infinite value of every human being. Hence their soulless dictatorship, their mass graves, and their concentration camps.

But should we defeat them with an H-bomb on their every city, it is we also who would have made mass graves. How could we possibly speak to them then of our belief in the infinite value of every human being?

Gospel and Nonviolence

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, pacifist because of this aspect of the Gospel: Just suppose the pacifism of the early Church was its belief in the power of nonviolence. (And I cannot read the story of the Cross, or the letters of

John and Peter and Paul, and escape the conclusion that this is what they are centrally about.) Just suppose nonviolence is the greatest power in the world. And suppose for centuries we have overlaid it. And suppose—because we Christians will not use it—the devil gets hold of it. And all the depressed people of the earth, and all the Africans, use nonviolence, as they are beginning to do, not for the sake of love but to gain their own ends.

Then indeed there will be nemesis. Then indeed there will be world seizure and world bankruptcy. Because we did not take Christ seriously, while there was yet time.

Like A Mighty Army

[War is always] a demonstration of the power of sin in the world and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him crucified.
—Oxford Conference, 1937

•

[The Universal Church] must pronounce a condemnation of war unqualified and unrestricted.—**Oxford Conference, 1937**

•

The deliberate killing of non-combatants is murder. If war degenerates into wilful slaughter of the innocent, Christians must either become pacifists or give up their religion.—**Dr. J. H. Oldham, 1940**

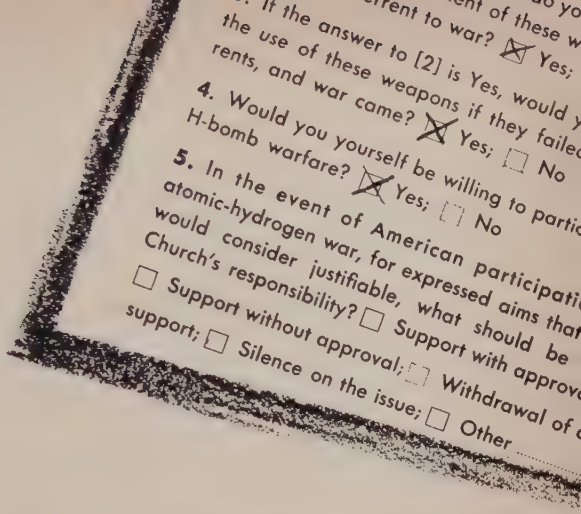
•

The Church cannot acquiesce in the supremacy of military considerations even in war time, nor in the view that modern war may properly, even in case of extreme peril to nation, church, or culture, become total war.
—Calhoun Commission Report, 1944

•

If atomic weapons or other weapons of parallel destructiveness are used against us or our friends in Europe or Asia, we believe that it could be justifiable for our government to use them with all possible restraint to prevent the triumph of an aggressor.—**Dun Commission Report, 1950**

"Not Christian, but . . ."


4. Would you yourself be willing to partic
H-bomb warfare? ☒ Yes; ☐ No
5. In the event of American participati
atomic-hydrogen war, for expressed aims that
would consider justifiable, what should be
Church's responsibility? ☐ Support with approva
☐ Support without approval; ☐ Withdrawal of
support; ☐ Silence on the issue; ☐ Other

How 474 clergymen answered Fellowship's H-bomb questionnaire

THE TIME CAME* when the statisticians had to put down their pencils in order to make the final deadline for this issue. When they did, questionnaires were still coming in from ministers at a rate of from ten to fifty a day. A total of 474 clergymen had sent in their answers or explanations of their failure to answer.

Most of them (391 to 419) had found it possible to answer the first four questions without qualification; a smaller number (286) were able to check one of the three suggested courses of action in question 5.

A rather small minority answered the first four questions with qualifications, while 130 ministers either qualified their answers to the fifth or substituted their own formulations for the position of the church in time of war.

A number of ministers, including both pacifists and nonpacifists, protested that the questions were "oversimplified" and could not really be handled with a yes-or-no answer. Whatever the merit of this contention, it is significant that of the 474 replying, 318 ministers gave an unqualified "no"—presumably the answers coinciding to the pacifist position—to all three key questions: 1, 2 and 4.

Some of the other significant results follow:

More than nine out of ten—431 of 474—expressed the conviction that use of the H-bomb and similar weapons cannot be "justified on Christian grounds." Some of them added that the observation extends to the use of "any weapons" and

* June 22.

one minister volunteered the addendum "nor on any other grounds."

"Deterrent"

The seductiveness of the argument that "preparedness" helps to preserve peace was apparent in the fact that ninety of those who could see no Christian justification for the use of such weapons nevertheless favor their development "as a deterrent to war." This has long been the principal argument of the "preparedness" advocates, of course, and is the current position of the government. Pacifists maintain that history repeatedly has demonstrated that it is fallacious.

Make but Don't Use

Twenty of the ninety who favor development of H-bombs as a "deterrent" nevertheless would be opposed to using them if they failed in that function, while fifteen more would favor using them "only if the enemy used them first" and three added the restriction that they be used "only on combatants" and not on "women, children and aged." The pacifist would say—as would most informed nonpacifists—that all these answers show a marked lack of realism. If it is impossible to achieve disarmament before war, it will clearly be impossible to rule out the use of the nation's most powerful weapon when war with a strong and determined enemy actually has begun. The suggestion that it is possible in a modern total war to tell "who used it first"—that is, who started the war—is similarly untenable, while the proposal that a weapon that would blanket with fatal radioactivity an area of 350 miles in diameter be "confined to combatants" is obviously unsound.

A few other comments disclosed attitudes that similarly spoke more of wishful thinking than of objective analysis. A dozen or more ministers referred to the "constructive" use of atomic and hydrogen bombs as though this were a genuine alternative now available. This overlooks the fact that in the government's whole program of development of nuclear power the possibilities of peacetime application have always been deliberately set aside until perfection of the weapons program had been completed. One or two clergymen indicated a belief that the United Nations could control the H-bomb threat, also an attitude hardly consistent with the present powers of the UN.

Personal Participation

Question 4—"Would you yourself be willing to participate in H-bomb warfare?"—troubled some by the ambiguity of the word "participate." While 358 of the 420 replying to this question gave an unqualified "No," a sizeable number pointed out quite correctly that it is impossible to avoid all participation in total war, while others restricted their prospective participation to the chaplaincy or to helping those needing it. (Pacifists generally have recognized since World War II that we are all inevitably involved in total war and its preparations by the very fact of living in our society. When they use the word "participate" in such a question as this, they refer to such situations as make it possible for the individual to withdraw his support and to make his disapproval known. The line is very tenuous; many pacifists have been troubled, for instance, by the difficulty of tak-

ng a clear position at the point of aying taxes.)

Church's Responsibility

Least satisfactorily worded, apparently, was question 5—"What is the responsibility of the Church to American participation in atomic and hydrogen war, for whatever purposes it may be waged?" Only 186 of the 420 who answered were able to check one of the three choices suggested: "Withdraw all support"; "Support and approve"; and "Remain silent on the issue." Of these, 261 indicated the Church should withdraw all support.

Of the rest, 55 checked one of the three with qualifications, and 79 formulated a different response to the question. These last ranged so widely over the field as to suggest that no formulation of this question could have been satisfactory. They included urging constructive use of nuclear energy (3), humanitarian service (4), interpreting the issues in the light of the Christian conscience (6), working for peace (6), "critical support" (4), prophetic opposition (6), "preach the gospel" (5). Three ministers registered the opinion that when hydrogen war breaks out it will be too late for the Church to do anything about it.

Most of the alternatives consisted of such vague generalities—"preach the gospel," "work for peace"—as to suggest a reluctance to face the issue at all. By contrast was the implicit frankness in two answers: "We must talk against it, but not too loudly," and "I would like to withdraw all support. I will probably remain silent on the issue."

Reactions to the questionnaire itself varied. Some nonpacifists said it "made them mad" because it was "slanted" in the pacifist direction. (It was: one purpose was to find out whether a substantial number of ministers were swinging toward pacifism as a result of the new weapons.) Others, even while observing that the questions were "oversimplified," expressed their gratification at receiving it and said that it had "stimulated" them to rethink these urgent matters.

Implications

What are the overall implications of the replies? Before the question can be answered, some explanation is needed of the way in which the questionnaire was circulated.

Originally, the editors of FELLOWSHIP had hoped to circulate it widely to some 50,000 Protestant ministers in the United States. In anticipation of this, a "sample" mailing went directly from the Fellowship office to 1,000 ministers in the northeast section of the United States.

The response to this test mailing was good, measured against normal expectancies for such mailings, running almost five percent. On the same basis, a mailing to 50,000 ministers could have been expected to bring 2,500 replies, which could reasonably have been interpreted as a fairly accurate cross-section of the thinking of the Protestant clergy in the United States. Such a mailing would have cost at least $1,500, however, and the budget was unable to take that kind of blow this spring.

The alternative was to send six copies of the printed questionnaire to each member of the F.O.R., with the suggestion that the members take the responsibility of interviewing the ministers in their communities. A considerable number did this, and accounted for the

bulk of the replies received. Obviously, however, these replies were heavily weighted with the responses of already-pacifist ministers, who as F.O.R. members also received the questionnaire in the mail. (There has not yet been time to check this closely.) It would clearly be inaccurate, therefore, to try to project the answers received from this mailing on the bulk of the clergy.

Some inferences, however, may be gained from the results of the test mailing, and these are encouraging. Of the 48 replies received, five were from F.O.R. members. Not including these, 21 ministers took the "pacifist" position implied in "no" answers to questions 1, 2 and 4, while only 22 were "non-pacifist." While neither the size of the mailing nor the nature of the questions make possible a conclusive assumption that pacifism is gaining among the clergy, there is at least some ground for hope that that is the case.

Some of the statistics of the questionnaire follow:

QUESTIONS 1 TO 4

	Unqualified		*Qualified*			*Total*
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Other*	*Answers*
Question 1—"Christian justification of H-bomb"						
All replies	9	410	11	21	22	473
"Test" 1,000 (not incl. FOR members)	5	36	0	1	1	43
Question 2—Favor as "deterrent"						
All replies	73	318	17	14	34	456
"Test" 1,000 (not incl. FOR members)	11	20	2	1	—	34
Question 3—Approve use if did not deter						
All replies	39	139*	23	8	18	228
"Test" 1,000 (not incl. FOR members)	6	14*	6	0	—	28
Question 4—Personal participation						
All replies	35	358	27	20	18	458
"Test" 1,000 (not incl. FOR members)	9	28	1	0	0	38

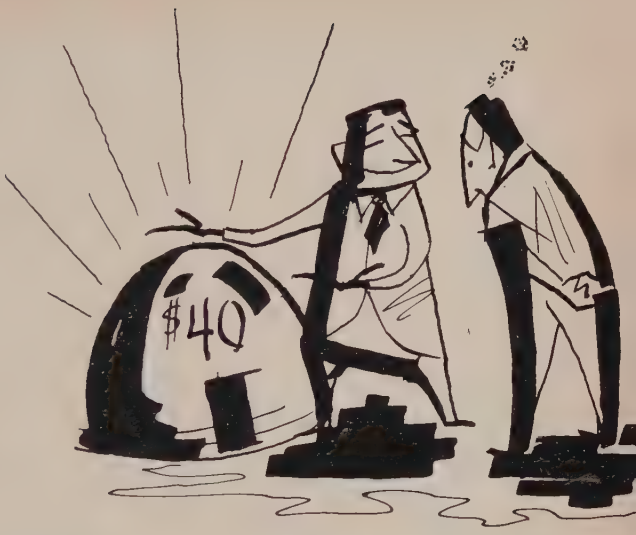
QUESTION 5

The Responsibility of the Church in the Event of War

	Withdraw All Support	*Support and Approve*	*Remain Silent*	*Other*	*Total*
All replies	261	14	11	130	416
"Test" 1,000	22	8	2	11	43

* This includes some who answered "No" to Question 2 and thus should not have answered this question.

The Forty Dollar Shelter



by ALFRED HASSLER

A FEW WEEKS after the news of the H-bomb blasts had been released, the City Council of Coventry, England, announced its refusal to participate in an impending civil defense exercise. Subsequent prodding by the Home Secretary only moved the Council to vote to suspend all civil defense recruiting and publicity. The city whose destruction by Nazi bombs heralded the beginning of saturation bombing in World War II pointed out politely that it was a little silly to prepare to defend yourself against a bomb against which there was admittedly no defense.[1]

No such candid facing of the facts of the H-bomb age has been reported from CD authorities in this country, unless the spontaneous outburst of New York City's CD Director O'Brien be counted as such. Mr. O'Brien, confronted by the first announcement of the stupendous force of the multi-megaton super-bombs, was unexpectedly frank to reporters who questioned him.

"It is a fantastic thought," said Director O'Brien, "but God knows, with the latest news from Washington, evacuation is the only solution. . . . If this latest bomb is what they say of it, our system of going to shelters is ancient history."[2]

The almost prayerful reference to the deity is understandable in the light of two other facts also acknowledged by Director O'Brien's office:

1. The Air Force has indicated

1 *New York Times*, May 5, 1954.

2 *New York Post*, April 1, 1954.

that the maximum warning time of an attack that may be expected is one hour;

2. The very lowest estimate of the time required to evacuate the "target area" of New York City, working day and night with top precision and organization, is three days.[3]

This candid appraisal of the realities of life was countered quickly by the more conventional reassurances expected of public officials trying to hide the fact that they are as bewildered as everyone else.

The state CD directors of New York and New Jersey issued a joint statement the next day in which they declared that the H-bomb had not made any drastic changes in the civil defense problem. It had simply made the problem "larger," they opined, and added that the techniques worked out in the past were still valid.[4]

"Bomb Insurance"

Another civil defense representative piled Pelion on Ossa when, after a lurid broadcast description of the power of the new bomb, he responded to the interviewer's request for "positive" suggestions with a glowing account of a family-type shelter that might be biult for only forty dollars. Without even a side glance at the earth-crushing force that had vaporized a twelve-mile island and left a hole 175 feet deep and a mile across, he suggested that the expense of installing such a shelter would be a form of insurance that should appeal to insurance-minded Americans. "And the nice part of it is," he concluded, "that the money you spend on such a shelter can be deducted from your income tax."

Finally on June 14th, New York City, its director's fears quieted—or at least kept respectably to himself—joined the rest of the country in the first nationwide air-raid test. Sirens blew and citizens stopped what they were doing and walked solemnly to the shelters from which they could confidently expect all the oxygen to be sucked by the H-bomb's gigantic fireball even if they were not completely pulverized by the initial blast.

No Defense . . . No Defense . . .

The fact is that the townsmen of Coventry, who know what an air-raid is, and New York's Director O'Brien, who can add two and two and get the right answer, have put the finger on civil defense accurately and effectively. There simply is no defense against H-bomb attacks, and it is unlikely that there can even be any kind of effective prior organization of rescue operations to follow the attack. When the attacking bombers have flown away, or the guided missiles have all delivered their fatal loads, the people still standing upright beyond the vast perimeter of destruction presumably will do what they can to help the stricken, but their efforts will be the proverbial drop in the ocean. Indeed, their own panic and despair may well be such as to cast from most minds every thought but that of their own safety.

When the city of Hamburg, in Germany, was bombed in 1943, it was besieged by eight raids in a period of ten nights, by flights of hundreds of R.A.F. bombers, which deluged the stricken city with fire-bombs and explosives, including the horrendous block-buster. Some-

[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *New York Times*, April 2, 1954.

hing like 100,000 men, women and hildren were blown to bits, urned, or suffocated as the tower- ng flames sucked the air from the treets and shelters. Eight years ater the visitor walking through Hamburg still saw acres upon acres f ruin, and could be told that nder the rubble still lay un- ounted bodies of those who had ever been recovered.

The blockbuster bombs that eveled Hamburg were the most errible bombs man had devised. n those few nights, by a Herculean effort, those clouds of bombers dropped enough of them on Hamburg to add up to 10,000 tons of TNT.

Maintaining the same pace night after night, it would have taken those hundreds of bombers forty years to deliver the equivalent of the single H-bomb exploded in the Marshall Islands in 1952! To match the 40-megaton bomb now reported as completely feasible the period would have to be lengthened to approximately 120 years! This is only another way of saying that one plane with one bomb can now deliver more explosive force than

Two-thirds of a million people live or work within Washington's "inner perimeter." What will they do when they learn that an H-bomb attack is LESS THAN AN HOUR AWAY?

all the bombs dropped by both sides during the whole of World War II.

There are no words in the English language adequate to describe the shambles remaining after such an attack. Top physicist Linus Pauling, of the California Institute of Technology, points out that one H-bomb dropped on New York City would *kill* five million people; on Los Angeles, two million.[5] And this does not begin to consider the "fall-out" of highly dangerous radioactive dust, which may spread fifty or a hundred miles or more from the center of the explosion and incapacitate or kill most of the population of that area.

Turn to Evacuation

As the reports rolled in during early April, the weekly magazines had a field day speculating on what the H-bomb meant in terms of American cities. Among them was *Life,* which, acknowledging that the H-bomb had "obliterated all previous plans for U.S. civil defense," and that "underground shelters would be crushed over a wide area," attempted to explore with neat charts and figures the possibilities of evacuating certain key cities when the news of an impending attack came.[6]

Life attempted to be restrained, but what its report demonstrated was that evacuation is as hopeless a prospect as shelters. It requires no complicated reasoning to demonstrate this, particularly if the reader keeps in mind the one hour that is the *maximum* warning the Air Force anticipates.

Life, quoting the U.S. Civil Defense Administration, had diagrammed its cities with neat concentric circles, working out from the "downtown" business area. Within the first circle, with a radius of more than a mile in a city like Washington, "traffic would be halted and people would walk outward to a loading perimeter, board assembled buses and streetcars to be carried out of town."

In the outer circles, "prearranged carpools" would presumably have moved residential and suburban populations out, clearing the way for the oncoming streetcars and buses.

It is whistling in the dark, as *Life* recognizes. In its prototype city of Washington, for example, two-thirds of the daytime population of a million are within the inner perimeter. Even with a *two*-hour warning, however, all the available streetcars and buses could handle only about 115,000. What would the other half-million do? Wait for the cars and buses to return, while the shadows of the planes darkened the earth? Walk toward safety, trying to outdistance the racing jets?

Panic Inevitable

"Traffic would be halted," says the CDA, but would it? Would a man with a car at the curb obey an order to leave it there and take his one-in-five chance of getting on a streetcar or bus a mile away? Would anyone remain to give the order, or would the human beings who wear the uniforms of police and CD wardens also be fleeing the doomed city? What of the men and women on whose work the whole system of transportation and communication depends: the bus and car operators, the workers in power plants, telephone operators and

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[5] In an address quoted in *New Outlook,* May, 1954.

[6] *Life,* April 12, 1954.

technicians? Would they remain at their posts, or would they, too, rush out in a frantic effort to escape?

"Far more serious than [the problems of transportation]," wrote *Life*, "is the prospect of panic. . . . Men's natural desire to reach their families, or to pile them into cars and go, would have to be curbed or traffic would be snarled hopelessly." Anyone who has seen the clogged streets of any large city at five o'clock of a business day, or at the beginning of a holiday weekend, will appreciate the degree of understatement that this assertion involves.

And even these reservations beg the question of where the evacuees would go. "Total destruction" from a 15-megaton bomb would extend perhaps four miles from the center of the blast (and who knows where that would be?) and near-total destruction almost twelve miles. Forty miles out would be the radius of the area of "serious blast damage," with "mass casualties from radioactivity" extending for ninety miles and dangerous radioactivity for 175. For safety, declares one published report, this whole vast area—350 miles in diameter, would probably have to be evacuated![7]

To state the dimensions of the catastrophe is to reveal the futility of civil defense, and it should be remembered that the catastrophe has been stated only in terms of the dropping of a single H-bomb on a single city, an unlikely way to wage a war.

For this kind of ultimate, indiscriminate destruction, no effective preparations can be made. Civil defense in the future more clearly than ever will serve principally the function of which pacifists have long suspected it: conditioning the mind of the public to the expectation of war, and, by providing a superficial reassurance that *something* is being done, preventing the widespread realization that the elimination of war itself is the only method of defense worth trying.

[7] *U.S. News and World Report*, April 9, 1954.

CHANGE OF POLICY

Highway signs instructing the public not to use major roads in event of enemy air attack will be taken down soon. They are outmoded by the hydrogen bomb.

Instead of banning the public from the highways, the Civil Defense Administration's new policy is to allow urban populations to use the roads to flee.

Civil defense officials are now preparing recommendations to state authorities telling them all highways must be kept open to permit a mass exodus from cities, and ordering them to take the old signs down. The signs were posted throughout the nation at a cost of thousands of dollars.

The policy of keeping the public off the highways was decided on when Civil Defense officials were thinking in terms of having all noncombatants run for shelters or cellars. The highways were to be kept open so aid could be rushed to the bombed cities.

But with the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs capable of wiping out the heart of a city, the official policy now is for the populace to take to the hills.

—***New York Times*, June 28, 1954**

Can't We Sit Down and Discuss It?

by John M. Swomley, Jr.

"WHAT HAPPENS when an irresistible force meets an immovable object?" is a question more often asked than answered. Perhaps there is no immovable object, though in the day of hydrogen bombs who can say that there is no irresistible force?

In one sense we deal with irresistibles and immovables when we confront two such dynamic nations as Russia and America today. No one can look at expanding communism and believe it has spent itself. Nor can he suggest that capitalism is so weak that it can be pushed off the face of the earth. There is amazing vitality in the cultures of both East and West, as the international power struggle again and again attests.

One of the difficulties in the world picture is that these two cultures face each other almost everywhere around the world. In Europe, Asia and North America, there are few nations that are not largely identified with one side or the other. Even within these nations the struggle goes on, in an effort to bring them completely within one of the orbits. Because both sides are heavily armed and have already used military force in limited wars, there is always the danger that a serious collision of interests will explode into global war.

In such a situation many seek a magic formula to avert war, and there is a tendency in many circles to believe that the real "alternative to reaching a decision by force" is negotiation, the holding of discussions with a view to coming to some sort of basic understanding and agreement. Those who hold this view generally assume either that such discussions have not been held or that they have not been held on a high enough level to accomplish anything. Subordinates, they feel, are unable to reach conclusive agreements.

It goes almost without saying that there is a greater chance of peace if two opponents will talk things over than if they refuse to

have anything to do with each other. It does not follow, however, that all such discussions really promote peace, nor does it mean that preparations for war cannot continue under the camouflage of a peace conference. Before we conclude that negotiation is or is not the magic formula for peace, it would be well to examine it in the light of both Communist theory and actual experience.

Communist Key Point

An emphasis on negotiation is one of the key points of the Communist "peace offensive." Again and again Communist peace groups have suggested that the heads of governments get together to resolve differences, or that there be a conference of the Big Five to work out a peace pact.

This emphasis on negotiation is not an exception to the Communist policy of promoting revolution and class war. Nor does it signal a willingness to abandon the power struggle in the interest of world harmony. The policy of the Party in conducting negotiations is determined by its concept of the class struggle.

To the Marxist, progress comes not through compromise with the ruling class but through the overthrow of the ruling class, or through exploiting the contradictions (opposing tendencies) inherent in the situation. As Stalin put it in his *Dialectical and Historical Materialism:* "Hence in order not to err in policy one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromiser's policy of the 'growing of capitalism into socialism.'" It follows from this that "the purpose of negotiation is not conciliation or compromise or a meeting of minds, which is really impossible, but is a strategic move to win an advantageous position when the struggle shall begin again."[1]

The Communist theory of negotiation has been amply demonstrated in practice at many levels of government over a period of years. Eleven persons who have engaged in extended negotiation have written chapters in the book *Negotiating with the Russians.* A number of them are skilled and flexible negotiators. Their experience, on which the book is based, was gained before the present stage of the East-West struggle had begun.

How Moscow Negotiates

In general they arrive at the following conclusions:

1. Only Stalin had power to make decisions, or to negotiate in any normal sense of the word. All others, including Molotov, had to refer proposals back to Moscow for decision. "Until Moscow has sent instructions they can say nothing at all for they may fail to express the exact nuance of thinking or intention which has not yet been formulated at the center and transmitted to them. After Moscow has spoken they can only repeat the exact formulation given to them and no variation may be introduced into it, unless Moscow has sent the necessary further instructions.[2]

2. Moscow looked upon negotiation not as a technique to resolve differences but as a way of carrying on the struggle for power.

[1] Sabine, George A., *A History of Political Theory.* Henry Holt, 1950; p. 818.

[2] Dennett, Raymond, and Johnson, Jos. E., *Negotiating with the Russians.* World Peace Foundation, 1951. P. 275.

"The Western representative tends to assume that a minor concession here or there will facilitate achieving the common aim of cooperative action. . . . The Soviet negotiator takes a minor concession as a sign that his principles are stronger and his will is firmer than those of his opponent. He does not believe in 'good will.' He is trained to assume the ill-will of the capitalist environment. If an 'imperialist' negotiator asserts his will for peace, it means, at best, that he is consciously in favor of peace but is unconsciously a tool of uncontrollable forces which work for war and for the final clash between 'two worlds.' "[3]

3. Because all negotiation by the Soviet is carried out through centralized direction from Moscow, it is impossible for negotiations in Europe affecting an East European nation not to have an effect on negotiations in Asia affecting a quite different matter. Western diplomacy, on the other hand, tends to treat each instance of negotiation as separate and not necessarily as having relationship to other instances. "Thus a negotiation over the status of Tangier bogs down in Paris; this may be a repercussion of a crisis which has arisen in Vienna or of a note delivered in Warsaw. Bolshevist mythology is full of 'chain reaction' concepts of causality."[4]

This means that unless relations all over the world are cordial and improving, anything could interfere with a specific attempt to solve conflict. It also means that if the world situation seems to be favorable to Communist expansion at one or more points, negotiation at another point is manipulated in accordance with the dialectic "which it regards as a unique instrument for both foreseeing and bringing about the future."

"Difficult and Frustrating"

4. Philip Mosely, who is director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University and was a participant in many World War II negotiations with the Russians, wrote: "Even during the wartime alliance against the common menaces of Germany and Japan, negotiations with the Soviet government were extremely difficult and frustrating, and aside from the advantage of having established the United Nations . . . none of the wartime agreements on postwar cooperation has worked out as was hoped. . . ." Mosely concludes that "in a period of Soviet expansion and of hope for further expansion, negotiation could have only the purpose of confusing and dividing the nations which opposed its pressure, and since the war the Soviet purpose in negotiating has not been to reach agreements with strong opponents, but to intimidate weaker and adjacent countries and to undermine the stamina of its principal potential adversaries."[5]

We must not conclude from these observations that the American State Department believes negotiation with the Russians is impossible. The State Department functions on at least two assumptions, however: (1) The use of negotiation must go hand in hand with the building of positions of strength. The Russians will negotiate and live up to negotiations only when the facts of the situation offer them no other choice; (2) Soviet leaders have a concern

3 *Ibid.*, p. 296.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 297.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

for world public opinion. When public opinion begins to mount against them, they tend to make "proposals designed to restore them favorably to world opinion."

The State Department thus operates on the assumption that negotiation is an arm of military policy and vice versa. Psychological warfare, or the viewing of all policy from the standpoint of its effect on world public opinion, is also set in the context of the power struggle.

Negotiation from strength is attempted coercion, not a genuine effort to solve problems. Neither the Russians nor the Americans are likely to accept as more than temporary accommodation any settlement reached at the point of a gun.

A Different Basis

When non-Communist groups like the American Friends Service Committee advocate negotiation as the cardinal point in their peace program, they are not advocating it either on Russian or State Department assumptions. They envision some kind of ideal negotiation where both Russians and Americans want peace so much that they will abandon their own power interests as nations to achieve it. The basic principle of negotiation is described by the Quakers as the seeking of "a free meeting of minds, sufficiently advantageous to each so that each party will willingly execute the terms of the agreement." The same Friends pamphlet suggests that "American and Russian foreign policy had been unable to achieve peace in recent years, partly owing to failure to understand the basic principles of negotiation."[6]

[6] *Steps to Peace*, American Friends Service Committee.

This emphasis on pure technique divorced from present power realities can have no meaning until America or Russia, or both, begin to abandon military power and place world community above national interests. The spiritual achievement must precede the political technique. This suggests that pacifists should have something more basic than technique to offer as a solution to the power struggle.

"Will Give Time"

Even when proponents of negotiation recognize its shortcomings in the present East-West struggle, one of the arguments advanced in behalf of it is that it will, at least, give us time to do something positive to stave off war. This is true only in the most limited sense. The Geneva Conference, designed in part to negotiate the Indo-Chinese war, was held while war went on.

The decision against military intervention by the U.S. was made in spite of the conference and at the very time when its failure to get anywhere was becoming the rationale for a military program by those who believed in intervention. Thus, while negotiation may stave off war if both sides are prepared to yield somewhat, unsuccessful negotiations may actually break down the resistance of those who otherwise would not have supported war.

Non-Communists who advocate negotiation as a technique for resolving the power struggle may be misleading others into false hope unless they take into account the following:

1. Negotiation needs to be more clearly defined than is generally done by those who advocate it. Both Russia and the United States

have been engaged in negotiations for years. To advocate more of the same is not necessarily to gain anything for peace. Negotiation as carried on at present is "negotiation from strength." It is looked upon, consequently, as part of the struggle to see which side can get the better of the other. Unless negotiation can take place in another context, it is not a technique for peace.

To Gain Time

2. The Communist position is often one of advocating negotiation either to gain time or to win agreement to a position so that, in the ensuing period of stabilization, strength may be gathered for a renewed struggle. Those who are moved by a revolutionary dynamic do not negotiate to avoid trouble but to win the ultimate victory more readily.

Insofar as such negotiation is intended to achieve recognition of a Communist achievement, it simply postpones and probably insures an ultimate global war. At the point when the anti-Communist world feels that one more Communist advance will put it in clear jeopardy of ultimate conquest, war becomes virtually certain.

3. The opposite of negotiation is not war. Negotiation and preparation for war are not incompatible. It is possible to deal with totalitarianism without advocating either negotiation or war. It is possible, for example, to advocate very fundamental social change and abandonment of military force as a revolutionary way of dealing with another power. This is the approach the Communists aimed at using in their initial struggle against Germany and the other military powers from 1917 on. They did not in fact abandon military power, but they had so little of it that their initial successes on the international scene must be attributed largely to other factors.

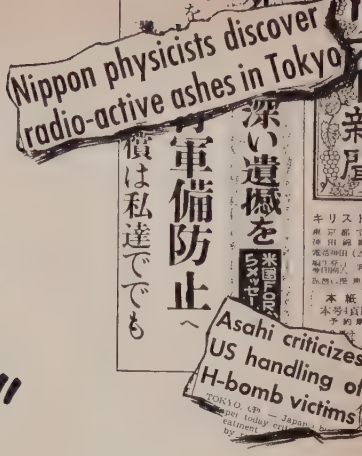
4. Negotiation, even in personal and small group relations, has its limitations. There are some controversies that cannot be negotiated, if by this we mean the achievement of a compromise between two points of view. For example, some problems require moral solution rather than simple compromise of political interests. There is no middle position acceptable to Negroes on the question of racial segregation—only equality will suffice.

Deal with Root Causes

5. Negotiation of one dispute may not really solve anything if the net result is the transfer of the struggle to other points. Treating the symptoms of a cold in the throat may drive the cold into the chest. Unless negotiation can deal with the root causes of the present power struggle, so as to resolve the entire problem, it is likely to be of little value in achieving peace.

6. The mere advocacy of a technique, largely divorced from concrete proposals for abandonment of military power, is meaningless. Similarly, concrete proposals for abandonment of military power are meaningless unless at the same time something is done to build a solid will for peace and create a faith in something other than war as a way to deal with enemies. This is an educational and religious, rather than a political and diplomatic, task.

"... and I gave her ten pigs"



IT HAPPENED during the reading of a prepared statement on the effects of the H-bomb on the Marshall Islanders and the American weather personnel on whom radioactive ash had fallen. Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, had explained that everybody appeared to be all right and that the alarm had been much exaggerated. There was no illness among the Islanders traceable to the bomb, and a child had been born since the explosion. It was at this point that Admiral Strauss looked up and departed from the text of his statement.

"They named the child, a little girl, after my wife," he said, "and I thought she ought to be dowered, and since they have no use for money, I gave her ten pigs."

The reporters laughed and asked his wife's name, which was Alice, and the Admiral went back to his statement, which went on to report that the alarm in Japan over the 23 fishermen and the possibility of radioactive fish also appeared to have been greatly exaggerated.[1]

It was the kind of reassurance Americans eat up. It not only told them that the bomb is not nearly so bad as some alarmists—probably Communists—have made out; it also demonstrated again that our big names are actually good guys with the human touch, who can think in the midst of weighty affairs to give ten pigs to a little girl baby on a far-off unknown island.

It did one other thing, also. Along with the rest of the statement, and all the other statements dutifully reported in our press, it helped to keep the American peo-

1 *New York Times*, April 1, 1954.

ple almost completely in the dark as to the apprehension and resentment that were the real reactions of millions of people whose homes lie somewhere west of the Golden Gate.

The Marshall Islanders, primitive people who live at peace and don't even understand the advantages of having a good jail in every village, sent a petition for help to the United Nations. It was a dignified petition, in restrained language, but what it said in effect was "save us and our homes from the militaristic Americans, who seem to have gone mad!" It should have been a sobering blow for citizens of the land of the free, but it passed almost unnoticed.

Then the Prime Minister of India commented at length on the subject to that country's House of the People, making plain his disapproval of both the bombs and the experiments and observing in passing that it was not funny that these things seem always to happen over around Asia. He was too polite to say so, but between the lines of his speech you could read the suggestion that people who like to try out H-bombs ought to figure out some way to do it nearer home.[2]

Japan Hardest Hit

But it was in Japan where the resentment and fear really exploded. For the third time the islands had been the direct victims of nuclear weapons. Some of her citizens had been badly burned by radioactive ashes and were in hospitals in Tokyo, facing death. Tons of the fish that are so large a part of her diet were being pursued with geiger counters and buried, and frightened citizens who thought they might have eaten some of the contaminated tuna were besieging the hospitals for reassurance that they and their children were not infected.

The great Japanese newspapers, *Mainichi*, *Asahi*, and the others, featured the news on their front pages almost to the exclusion of everything else. Japanese scientists analyzed the sample of ashes the unfortunate fishermen had brought with them and found traces, among other things, of Strontium 90, which has a "half-life" of twenty-five years of dangerous radioactivity. Sales of fish dropped to half their normal volume, and the Van Camp Company in California announced that it had cancelled its orders for Japanese tuna.

"Much Exaggerated"

All this, suggested the United States, was much exaggerated. It was unfortunate that the crew of the Fukuryu Maru had been burned, and if it turned out that the boat actually had been outside the "danger zone," they would be compensated. But the excitement was greater than the circumstances called for: only a few fish had been contaminated, the fishermen were all recovering and the tests were over. Senator Pastore, of Rhode Island, visited Japan and announced that the 23 fishermen were not nearly in such bad state as had been suggested.

But the Japanese were not mollified. Wrote Tano Jodai, president of the Japanese section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom:

> "To those who are not familiar with the 'atomic disease,' the pres-

2 *Indiagram* (issued by the Indian Embassy, Washington, D. C.) April 6, 1954.

ent condition of these men may not seem very critical. In fact, though the number of white blood corpuscles had decreased to about half of the number of a normal man, this does not indicate an immediate peril; and the complaints of those who had eaten the 'Bikini tuna' seem mostly due to imaginary, or psychological effects of the food.

"These facts, however, are far from reassuring. For this incident occurred just at the time we Japanese were beginning to realize that the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has lasted much longer than we (at least ordinary Japanese people) ever dreamed of. In the past three years, there have been reported several cases of pitiful deaths of school children, who as babies survived Hiroshima or Nagasaki, seemingly unharmed. These children looked quite normal until they fell ill, six or seven years after THAT DAY, their bodies giving way to the destructive operation that had been secretly working in them. So far, nothing can save the lives of those on whom the symptoms of the 'atomic disease' manifest themselves; and they die after months of indescribable agony. Grown-ups are no exemption from this liability, and there are people who have been actually condemned to death within a few years even though they at present show little difference from ordinary people. You can well imagine the psychological effects of such a revelation to those who survived the hell-fire of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They are living under constant fear of death which may be, even at this very moment, secretly undermining their vitality.

"Today, we will not go into the details of their sufferings nor the inadequate measure of relief, which may be the cause of more fatalities than is unavoidable. Yet, we, as the only nation which has witnessed what IT really means, should like to call the attention of the peoples all over the world to the fact that the phrase 'No more Hiroshimas' sounds absurdly naive in the face of the dire reality; 'Hiroshima is not even ended yet.'"

The Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of Japan confirmed Mrs. Jodai's statements in a resolution referring to the "gravely injured" fishermen and "enormous economic losses," and calling on the National Council of Churches in the United States and the World Council of Churches for "redoubled efforts" for international control of atomic energy.

Japanese medical authorities treating fishermen exposed to the radiation from the March 1 nuclear explosion at Bikini are seriously concerned because they have learned that the long-lived radioactive substance Strontium 90 was in the ash which has fallen over wide areas of the Pacific.

Their concern arises because the radioactivity of Strontium 90 does not disappear within a relatively short time as does the radioactivity of most fission products of an atom bomb explosion, but has a half-life of twenty-five years, so that even after that period there would still be half the original amount of radioactivity in existence if any Strontium 90 entered the body of the affected crewmen.

—New York Times, March 26, 1954

By June the excitement had largely subsided in the United States, but Japan was still deeply concerned. The American people, it heard, were not being told the facts of what the tests had done to the Japanese. Mrs. Yasushi Nishawaki, a member of the FOR, reported that she had written the Atomic Energy Commission in Washington and received in reply a "very polite, long letter" that reassured her that things had turned out not nearly so badly as first reports had indicated. "Other than the Fukuryu Maru," said the letter, "we know of no dangerously contaminated fish being brought into any of the ports of Japan,

Hawaii or the U.S. . . . The very substantial market disturbance . . . occurred through fear rather than because of an actual . . . danger."

Wrote Mrs. Nishawaki:

"I believe that we need to send [to the AEC] a chart or report on the number of fish and ships since the Fukuryu Maru which have come back with contaminated fish. Also there have been more fishermen with radiation sickness. . . . The fishermen are still not recovering, and . . . the fish were actually too radioactive to be considered absolutely safe for consumption."

More than 4,000 Japanese are still undergoing treatment for the things that *pikadon* did to them nine years ago. The Japanese look at them and remember, and they are not reassured.

Message from a Fisherman

THE SENTENCES on the cover of this issue are taken from a letter from Tadashi Yamamoto, one of the more seriously injured of the twenty-three fishermen of the Fukuryu Maru. The letter was sent in response to a message from the executive committee and staff of the American FOR, taken to the fishermen and to the Japanese press by Paul Sekiya, secretary of the FOR in that country.

Referring to the "incident" as "symbolic of the plight in which the whole race of man now finds itself," the message with its plea for the end of war and of armaments was featured on the front pages of the Japanese newspapers. The full text of Mr. Yamamoto's reply follows:

"Thank you heartily for your message of sympathy towards the calamity which have recently overtaken us. Those of us who are engaged in fishery in distant seas never know what might happen in the wide ocean.

"The event which overtook us may not be what U.S.A. had anticipated that it would happen.

"No matter how angry we might be at what has already befallen us, its calamity could not be extinguished.

"It is our fervent desire, that such a thing should never happen again. Being thus daily watched by the good will of the people of the world, I think our primary duty is to recover our health. Mankind should not perish by the product of the great science it has produced. We even think that the calamity which overtook us is warning from Heaven to mankind. We should not be ashamed of having made a mistake. What we should be ashamed of is to repeat the folly we did. The calamity should be limited to us. It is enough that we have suffered. We believe that the power of the good will of men can prevent such a thing from happening again."

May 1st, 1954

TADASHI YAMAMOTO
In the Hospital of Tokyo University

What can the Swiss Do?

by Rene Bovard

Secretary, International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace

THE REACTION of the Swiss people to the first reports of the explosion of the H-bomb probably was similar to reactions all over the world: a feeling of horror, a moral protest, and the clear feeling that this could not continue.

The "Grand Council of the Canton of Geneva" urged all governments to outlaw weapons of mass destruction and save humanity from an unprecedented catastrophe. A month later the "Grand Council of the Canton of Vaud" made a similar statement.

But very rapidly preoccupation with other things—the Geneva Conference, for example—drew attention elsewhere. Moreover, political considerations concerning defense of the western world against the Communist threat outweighed from the beginning spontaneous reaction against the H-bomb experiments. Pacifist circles themselves, which have but little influence on public opinion, did not find the necessary inspiration for important action lest they find themselves in agreement with Swiss Communist or pro-Communist circles.

The latter were almost the only ones to make a serious effort to awaken Swiss public opinion to the seriousness of the experiments with the H-bomb. The "Swiss Movement for Peace," affiliated with the World Council for Peace, was the only group to envisage a public conference on the subject. It seemed likely that this conference, scheduled to be held in Geneva on May 30, would draw only Communists and a few independents. But the Swiss people, convinced that the smallness of their country makes their opinions unimportant, are reluctant to engage in demonstrations that can have no sense except in a political context.

More recently a new movement has emerged, which, without being directly related to the H-bomb, has

certainly been influenced by it: the launching of a popular initiative for a limitation of armaments in Switzerland, initiated by a M. Chevallier of Lausanne. It is not tied to any political party, but merely expresses the aspiration toward an effective act on behalf of peace by a man who listens only to his conscience. In line with this, it concentrates on Switzerland's own military budget, in which it seeks a fifty percent reduction by 1955. The money saved it would apply half to Swiss organizations helping children and to trust funds for the construction of apartment houses at moderate prices, and half for the reconstruction of regions devastated by war in surrounding countries.

Resolution from India

As the use of weapons like the H-bomb and A-bomb would mean the annihilation of human culture and human society as a whole this meeting views with great concern and vehemently protests the manufacture, storing and use of the same. It is important that the public should take an organized stand so as to achieve the banning of the above weapons of unlimited destructive power.

This meeting offers its heartfelt support to Sree Jawaharlal Nehru in his efforts towards this end. This meeting requests severally each of the great powers that they should unequivocally declare assuring the world publicly that they would not under any circumstances manufacture, store or use the above type of weapons.

This meeting urges the United Nations to take immediate and effective steps for the banning of these weapons.

Resolution of F.O.R. (India) and Youth Christian Council of Action, endorsed by some Metropolitans of the Marthoma Syrian Church, the Jacobite Syrian Church, the Orthodox Syrian Church, and Archbishop Joseph Mar Sevorios of the Roman Catholic Church, adopted May 19, 1954.

How Britain took the Bomb

Dr. Donald Soper, well-known London preacher, president of the Methodist Church conference, and FOR member, carries a placard through London's West End during an H-bomb protest.

by Tom Wardle

Editorial Writer, *Peace News*

TO BE QUITE HONEST, nobody was worried when Britain heard about the Marshall Islanders (whatever happened to them?). The first indication that a couple of hundred people had been hurt by a bomb was given in the Laborite *Daily Herald.*

On *Peace News* we picked it up, though our first thought was that its news rating derived from the fact that it was another example of non-self-governing peoples getting the dirty end of some imperialist stick. Only this time the imperialist power was the U.S.

We dug out the Trusteeship obligations to which the U.S. subscribed when she took over administration of the Marshalls on behalf of UN "to provide just treatment and a protection against abuse" for the inhabitants.

We headed the story "Islanders Endangered by A-bomb Tests in UN Trust Territory." The following morning, an hour before we went to press, we went across to the printer's and asked him to make a change in the headline. We took out "A" and put in "H."

That was how it started.

Then came the story of the fishermen. It made all the papers, but not the headlines. What is now the incredible thing is that it took several days to sink in.

When it did, it was as if all the bosses of Fleet Street had suddenly gone out of their senses and yelled to their long-suffering, conscience-worried reporters, "OK, boys, come

on in—write what you like." We were called to repentance, we were held up for the sinners we were, we were asked by the hoary old double-thinkers of *The Times:* "If one side has bombs capable of blowing up half the world is it necessary as a deterrent to have bombs capable of blowing up three-quarters of it?"

Day by day, the news came out. One morning there was a neat little map at the bottom of the front-page of the *Daily Express,* mouthpiece of the Beaverbrook Empire (and the British one, too, if you can believe its editorials). It showed the British Isles set not in a silver sea but in a ripple of concentric circles centred on Sheffield.

The circles spread out over the whole of Britain, Ireland, across the North Sea and the Channel to embrace Holland, Belgium and a good slice of northern France and Germany. This, said the *Express,* was the area over which the effects of one H-bomb dropped on Sheffield might spread.

One-Bomb War

Everything that has happened since in Parliament, the Press, the Church and the political parties; everything that is yet to come in all the public protests that are now in preparation, has been and will be dominated by the simple fact—so far as Britain is concerned we have entered the era of the one-bomb war.

If we side with America, say the Leftists, Russia will drop it on us. If we side with Russia, think the Rightists, America will let us have it. By a kind of Hegelian logic the nation is putting its American thesis and its Russian antithesis together and moving towards the synthesis that with the grace of God and the help of Old Father Time it will side with neither.

A distinguished Scots clergyman said the other day, "I have the feeling that the initiative is now with the pacifists." The fact is so new and so unanticipated that even the pacifists haven't realized it yet.

Anti-Bomb Petitions

This is the way it goes. After Attlee's now-famous speech of April 5 on the H-bomb some of the Labour boys dusted off their photos of Keir Hardie and Lansbury and put them on the mantelpiece again. The rebellious bunch who flirt with Bevanism got up a stunt for a mass petition campaign to pull in 15 million signatures calling for a Big Three meeting on the bomb. At the initial campaign meeting nearly three hundred leaders of party, church, peace, etc., etc., organizations made it clear that they wanted the petition to state that Britain would not use or manufacture the bomb or permit its use from bases in this country.

At the recall meeting the floor got its order from the committee (all Labour MPs except one)—the petition was to remain as was, the wording of the original Labour Party motion in the House of Commons to which Churchill and his party subscribed. (There is a saying in the Gothic corridors that the most effective way to smother a motion is to get all-party agreement on it. It can then be quietly shelved without anyone feeling responsible.)

The pacifist phalanx pressed for the inclusion of a phrase calling attention to the moral implications of the bomb—it was rejected. Amendment after amendment came and went. In the end the meeting

realized that the sponsoring committee would not carry on unless their original motion was accepted as the form of the petition.

When this was made clear and the majority feeling of the floor gave way before the demands of the platform, a third of the meeting, including all the pacifists, walked out. The meeting had been railroaded. It was obvious that Party considerations had caused the platform to take that line.

But in the same building, hardly a dozen plaster Prime Ministers away, one of their own party was himself taking a stand which made nonsense of their Party-unity endeavours. Aneurin Bevan was resigning from the Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

"Hydrogen Bomb Is a Sin"

And that was not all. On April 29, in the debate on Britain's Atomic Energy Authority, a little-known Labour member, Frank Beswick, got up to move the introduction of a new clause into the Bill—a clause requiring that before Britain could make a hydrogen bomb both Houses of Parliament, Lords and Commons, must be consulted and give their approval.

Beswick's motion was put with eloquence and passion. It was put by a man who had voted for Britain's A-bomb but who stuck at the H-bomb. "May I make my position clear?" he asked. "I accept the statement of the Bishop of Chichester that the hydrogen bomb is a sin. I am therefore against having anything at all to do with its manufacture." "The atomic bomb was a weapon of mass-destruction," he said, "the H-bomb is an instrument of world extinction."

The whole character of the debate was changed. Britain's representatives had to face up squarely to what was implied in the pious resolution of April 5. Since that day, it appears, many had had second thoughts. Perhaps the H-bomb wasn't so bad after all, more than that, perhaps it was a blessing. In a piece of unparalleled sophistry, Viscount Hinchingbrooke, a Labour Peer and Member of the House of Commons, argued that the possession of the H-bomb by Britain would help to maintain peace. "I cannot believe that any nation in the world, crawling on its knees (that is, without the H-bomb), with its hands held out in supplication to an international conference, will be respected or have its policies acted upon," he said. This then is the thinking of 1954. Without the H-bomb a nation is grovelling, craven, a menace to peace.

A Labour Party front-bench man was put up to give the Party line. He *advised* Party members to abstain from voting. To do otherwise would be technical rebellion; nasty questions of Party loyalty would be raised.

Even so there was a vote; even so 65 MPs registered their protest against the making of the horror weapon in Britain. And among those 65 were all the MPs who had sponsored the national campaign against the H-bomb. They had thus been forced to declare in the House of Commons the very thing they had been reluctant to support in a public petition—that the hydrogen bomb is a sin—no less.

From *The Times* came another editorial boom: "War today is the hydrogen bomb." From here it is a short distance logically, somewhat longer politically, to the conclusion—if therefore you want to get rid of the bomb you must get rid of war.

"But you know," said the man in the bus-queue, "we might just as well have no weapons at all. If they start anything it's not much use us having guns and tanks if they've got hydrogen bombs. In fact we'd probably be better off without anything at all."

Does Mr. Bevan now say "Amen" (perhaps a little *sotto voce*) to that?

The pacifist movement has been telling itself that this is not pacifism. Perhaps, say the broad-basers, but it will do for a start. Once get them thinking about war and you never know where it might lead.

And the fact is they are thinking.

They are thinking, among other things, of that little map.

On a radio program the other night an audience member asked a quiz panel, "Would it be better for Britain to be a prosperous second-rate power than a bankrupt first-rate one?" The team talked hotly and embarrassedly about "commitments" and "responsibilities."

But that was a question that would not, perhaps could not, have been asked two years ago.

Recruiting for Civil Defense is hopelessly below peace-time skeleton requirements; regular army recruiting is the lowest ever; Mr. Nehru is creeping on to the front pages. In a profound sense the British folk are getting bored with the cold war.

Until now I had thought that the capacity of my people for getting bored was perhaps its least salutary quality.

Until now.

What They Are Saying

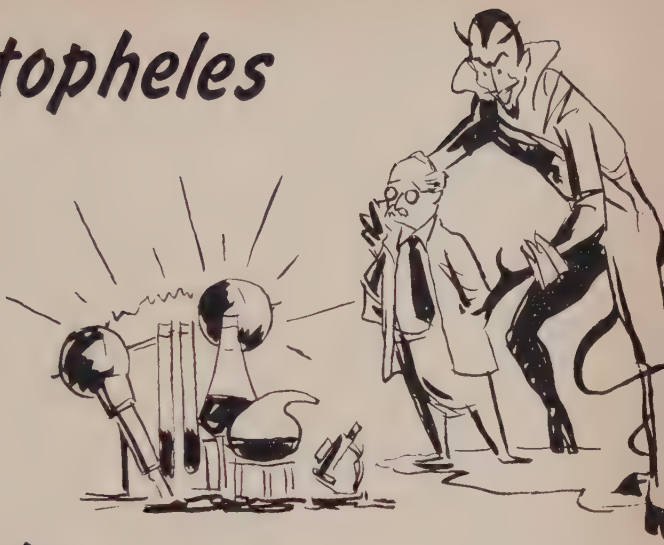
Only madmen or devils would contemplate the use of cobalt bombs, or other weapons designed to spread long-lived radioactivity over the earth.

Only a devil would deliberately spread sterility and impotence among mankind, his own side included, or store up genetic monstrosities for the future.

—Melbourne Age, April 14, 1954

Today we have to choose between the friendship or the hatred of the millions of Asian people just a few hours away from our shores. Does it mean nothing to us that these people live and die in desperate need which we could do much to alleviate? They need food and clothing, they need technicians, doctors and administrators, they need a friendly hand and sympathetic counsel. Must we reduce the situation to the vulgar level of "common sense" and "self-interest"? What fearful judgment awaits a nation which refuses to feed these hungry and clothe these naked, but instead helps to bomb their homes, destroy their crops and mutilate their children? **—The New Zealand Christian Pacifist, May, 1954**

Mephistopheles and the Scientists



by A. J. MUSTE

"He calls it Reason—thence his powers increased
To be far beastlier than any beast."

Mephistopheles, in Goethe's Faust

IN these terrible days none know better than the scientists who sacrificed their misgivings to the demands of "national security" the fate that frequently befalls those who try to bargain with the devil.

They thought at first they could handle it, and the early years after Hiroshima rang with the urgent cries of scientists turned prophets. But the warnings have become ever less effective, and now these confused Fausts learn to their dismay that they have sold their souls so completely that even their Mephisto disdains their protests. They have served their purpose—the murders have been done—and this Mephistopheles will go so far as to toss them lightly out of the very kingdom they have made for him, if the whim seizes him.

If there was any doubt about the scientists' plight, it was resolved with the decision to bar J. Robert Oppenheimer from access to the "secrets" of the very project of which he had been the principal architect.

The findings of the Board that

barred him[1] present a fascinating and disconcerting revelation of where the men who hold in their hands the reins of communication and power have arrived in their thinking.

The majority came to "a clear conclusion" that Oppenheimer is a "loyal citizen." They do not charge him with ever having been a member of the Communist Party. They do not even hint at any *specific* instance where he unwittingly betrayed military secrets. Nevertheless, they "have been unable to arrive at the conclusion that it would be clearly consistent with the security interests of the United States to reinstate Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance."

Was Fellow Traveler

There are two kinds of material in Oppenheimer's record that led to this conclusion. In the first place, Dr. Oppenheimer was a fellow-traveler of the Communist Party for several years before he took charge of the A-bomb project in 1942, and numbered a good many Party members among his close associates. All this was known when Oppenheimer was engaged. It was reviewed again in 1947 by one of the loyalty and security outfits that are now a part of American life, he was cleared, and he continued in highly responsible and sensitive war work for another seven years. As Dr. Evans pointed out in his minority recommendation, Oppenheimer is certainly *less* of a security risk now than he was then.

Gray and Morgan point out, however, that Dr. Oppenheimer has not cut off personal association and friendship with persons who formerly were Communists. In the past he sometimes held back names from F.B.I. agents during conferences with them when in his judgment bringing in these names was not relevant to a security investigation. Thus Oppenheimer, they state, "has repeatedly exercised an arrogance of his own judgment with respect to the loyalty and reliability of other citizens." He has, that is to say, exercised his judgment as to what to tell and what not to tell the F.B.I.

Asserting "the right of citizens to be in disagreement with security measures . . . [as] a part of the right of dissent which must be preserved for our people," they insist that this does not mean that a person who does not unequivocally accept the security system and abide by its requirements, should be a part of it.

They agree, furthermore, that "*there can be no tampering with the national security, which in times of peril must be absolute,* and without concessions for reasons of admiration, gratitude, reward, sympathy or charity. *Any doubts whatever must be resolved in the interests of the national security.*" (Emphasis added.)

Still More Demanded

Even this, however, does not touch rock bottom of the conformity required of those who would serve the nation in important war jobs. This was reached in the Gray-Morgan findings on the subject of Oppenheimer's position on production of the H-bomb. In the tremendous debate that preceded

[1] The Personnel Security Board consisted of Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina, chairman; Thomas A. Morgan, former president of the Sperry Corporation; and Dr. Ward V. Evans, professor of chemistry at Loyola University, Chicago. Dr. Evans agreed with the Findings but filed a minority recommendation to restore Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance.

President Truman's decision to produce the H-bomb not only Oppenheimer, but Conant, then president of Harvard, Du Bridge, president of the California Institute of Technology and three others of the eight active members of the General Advisory Committee of the A.E.C. advised against it. Only Fermi of Chicago and Rabi of Columbia voted affirmatively. It is admitted that Oppenheimer's own opposition was based to an important extent on technical obstacles that were eliminated only by *later* discoveries, and that after Truman made his decision, Oppenheimer not only did nothing positive to hinder the program but continued for several years to work effectively on the war program.

Oppenheimer's Mistake

Wherein, then, did the learned doctor err? Messrs. Gray and Morgan leave us in no doubt.

First, Oppenheimer and others opined, on various grounds, that it would be wiser for the government to build up defense, such as the radar screen, rather than produce the frightful offensive H-bomb weapons, but "government officials charged with the military posture of our country must also be certain that underlying any advice is a genuine conviction that this country cannot in the interest of security have less than the *strongest possible* offensive capabilities in a time of national danger." (As "they" always say, a strong offense is the best defense.)

Second, there is reason to believe that Oppenheimer was somewhat influenced by ethical and emotional considerations in his counsel regarding the H-bomb, and Gray and Morgan remind him and us that a scientist ought not to mix science and technics with ethics and emotions.

Not Enthusiastic

Finally, though the charge that Oppenheimer hindered the program in any specific way after Truman's decision is rejected, he is nevertheless adjudged guilty, and a security risk, because his support was not "enthusiastic" enough for a man with "Dr. Oppenheimer's influence in the atomic scientific circles." As under totalitarian regimes, it is now spelled out that the severest penalties may attach to making an honest mistake, even though three-fourths of your professional associates also make it, and to not being *enthusiastic* as well as efficient and obedient.[2]

Oppenheimer himself is clearly a man with a highly developed sense of individuality, far removed from the typical, hardened Communist type in which the person is submerged in the Party. It is inevitable that for such a man other people are also "persons," and that he should regard his relations with his friends as somehow inviolate, to be protected against such things as governmental inquisition. A one-time friend or associate is not to be abandoned when he gets into trouble—perhaps least of all then.

Oppenheimer is "non-political." He was eleven years out of Harvard before in "late 1936, my interests began to change" from physics, Sanskrit, and the classics of literature and art to politics. From then on his reaction and activities for some years are those of the typical idealistic and liberal fellow-

[2] Since this was written, the Atomic Energy Commission's affirmation of the decision against Dr Oppenheimer expressly disavowed the "enthusiasm" item, possibly in response to the shocked protest expressed by many Americans.

traveler who never knew what was really going on "inside" the Communist Party or the political world generally.

"I had a continuing, smoldering fury about the treatment of Jews in Germany. I had relatives there. . . . I saw what the depression was doing to my students. . . . Through them, I began to sense the larger sorrows of the great depression. . . . *I had no framework of political experience or conviction to give me perspective in these matters.*" (Emphasis added.)

He met a girl who had a lot of Communist friends. He gave hundreds of dollars to the Loyalist cause in Spain. He married a girl whose former husband was a Communist who had died in Spain. Even "the Nazi-Soviet pact and the behavior of the Soviet Union in Poland and in Finland . . . did not mean a sharp break for me with those who held different views. At that time I did not fully understand. . . ." It is doubtful whether even now he understands 1942 in political terms, and it is virtually certain that he does not understand the power struggle and the nature of the American power-state in 1954.

Problem of Conscience

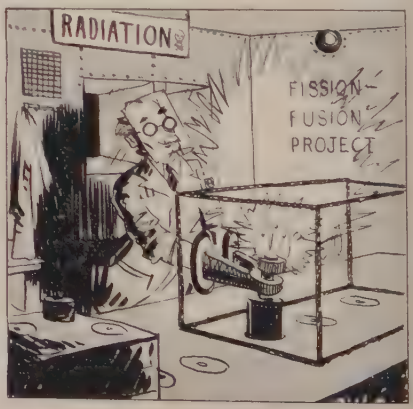
But the chief problem Robert Oppenheimer poses for us is the problem of conscience. Oppenheimer is a man of conscience, an inherently gentle person. He shrinks from hurting and killing, even hurting a man's reputation, or injuring his chances for a job. He actually cannot bring himself to do it, and will "lie" to avoid it, except in the clearest case of treason. To a reporter for *Time* magazine who six years or so ago asked him what his "formula" was for bringing up children, he said: "Just pour the love in and it will come out."

Yet Oppenheimer is involved, as deeply as anyone in our generation, in the colossal tragedies at

The Scientist

SUNDAY

MONDAY



Hiroshima, Eniwetok and Bikini. He did nothing to interfere with the production of the H-bomb, and indeed worked along at his key job in the atomic weapons field, after the Truman decision was made. And he seeks to remain part of an authoritarian military enterprise, to be adjudged not only loyal but a "good" security risk in a context where the "national security" has absolute priority. Here where the lives of millions of human beings are involved he is not a conscientious objector.

Michael Amrine in a very perceptive article on *The Scientist as Hamlet*[3] speaks of our time as "an age which has taken the work of the saintly Einstein and created a weapon ruthless beyond the dreams of Genghis Khan." As a matter of fact, it was the saintly Einstein who wrote the famous letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt that set in motion the machinery for making the A-bomb.

Both Einstein and Oppenheimer were among the spiritual victims of Hitler and the Nazis, and were decisively influenced by the fear that the Nazis might beat the U.S. to the A-bomb. "We had information in those days," the latter wrote, "of German activity in the field of nuclear fission. We were aware of what it might mean if they beat us to the draw."

No Spiritual Guidance

I suppose the chief mitigating factor in the judgment that must be made on this is that neither Dr. Oppenheimer's Jewish spiritual counsellors nor the leading Christian spiritual counsellors of our time have guidance to give him. They are in the same place he is. For here we are face to face with the still generally accepted doctrine that where war and the national interest are involved, the ordinary ethical or Christian standards are not relevant. The Christian as Christian behaves in one way, the Christian as citizen in another. In the first capacity he "pours the love in"; in the second, he drops the atom bomb, since

[3] *The Saturday Review*, December 13, 1952.

TUESDAY

WEDNESDAY

otherwise the Germans might beat us to the draw, or the H-bomb, since otherwise the Russians will beat us to the draw. In such a world, one is jealous for the chances for professional advancement of a young physicist who once belonged to the Communist Party, and one is also a participant in ravishing Hiroshima and in preparing to obliterate Moscow or Peiping.

Sorrow over the ordeal to which Robert Oppenheimer has been subjected is appropriate. But it is also appropriate to observe that he and the other scientists who have worked on atomic weapons at Los Alamos and since, helped to brew the bitter draught they are now made to drink. Their compact with Mephistopheles is their own, entered into with their eyes open. They don't like secrecy; but they worked in secrecy. They reject special responsibility for the use of the bombs they produced because in a democracy it is for the people to decide what weapons to use, but they spent two billion dollars of the taxpayers' money and the labor of thousands of men in a project about which the people knew nothing until some minutes after the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. More recently, as we have seen, there was a momentous debate over the H-bomb which involved political and moral, and not merely technical, issues and not a single scientist has taken the American people into his confidence on these matters.

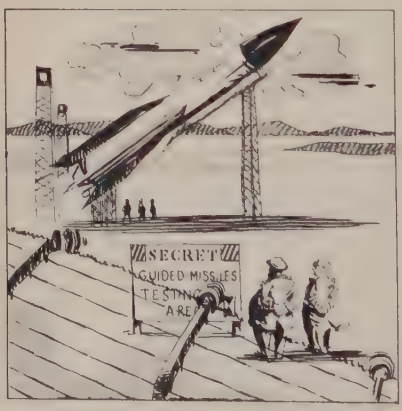
What kind of an age did the scientists think this age of the A-bomb would be? What kind of an age do they think the H-bomb symbolizes? An age of secret debates about the issues on which man's spiritual and even physical survival depends cannot be free from spies, informers, secrecy, regimentation, militarization, hysteria, murder, fear and totalitarianism!

The Real Choice

It is remotely possible that the present verdict on Oppenheimer will be in part reversed.[4] But sup-

[4] see footnote 2

THURSDAY



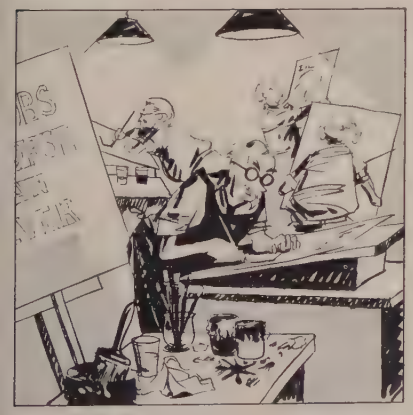
FRIDAY

pose Dr. Oppenheimer is nominally cleared and simply not hired to work on atomic weapons any more, which some have thought would be a "better" way to handle the case. It is not likely that any but the most gullible would think that this changed anything.

What, then, are the real choices? Perhaps the best way for Dr. Oppenheimer to approach this question would be to ask himself another: "Suppose I am fully cleared and invited to go back to work for the Atomic Energy Commission and the Pentagon, what shall I do?" A possible answer, of course, is: "Why not go back? It would then be evident that the U.S. is still fundamentally sound and democratic. I would have more power for good, to protect other scientists and liberals, to counsel moderation in foreign policy—and to help produce the super-super-weapon if my country should need it as a deterrent." This, alas, is presumably the way Dr. Oppenheimer would have reasoned if his clearance had not been called into question. Most of what are regarded as the finest elements in the country would have approved and continued to regard him as a great servant of his country.

Suppose, however, that a man like Oppenheimer comes to the point where, whatever his personal fortunes, he can no longer believe that the world of the H-bomb and the global power struggle is really moving forward toward sanity, freedom and peace—not to mention love—what is there for him then but to make a sharp break with the past, regardless of what anyone else does? He would acknowledge that fellow-traveling with Communists in the 'thirties was indeed a "mistake," but nothing like so great a mistake as the work on the A-bomb and the H-bomb and the notion that war can contribute anything to the destruction of totalitarianism or the salvaging of human dignity and decency? Having thus once more learned from error he would call on fellow scientists and fellow citizens to abandon war, if need be unilaterally, since meeting paranoia with sanity is in any case a better bet than

SATURDAY



SUNDAY

meeting it with counter-paranoia.

It is customary to say that such individual action does not count. But surely this is the totalitarian heresy. Let Einstein and Oppenheimer join in such an action and call from Princeton and there will be multitudes to join them.

Moreover, the response would not be confined to this country's scientists or citizens. Otto Hahn, director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Chemistry in Berlin in 1938, was co-discoverer of uranium-fission and, as a reviewer of a book of his published in 1951 said in the *Saturday Review*, "demonstrated that atomic energy was no longer a science-fiction monopoly." Otto Hahn was aware of the military implications of his discovery *but he did not write such a letter to Hitler as Einstein wrote to Roosevelt*—he did not become the Oppenheimer of the Nazi war-machine. Such men as Hahn—and there may be some in Russia, too—would gladly respond to an Einstein-Oppenheimer call, and even in a Siberian concentration camp would organize a section of an international strike of scientists and other human beings against war.

It is possible? Can these modern Fausts free themselves from the bonds into which they sold themselves?

It may be. Gounod left his operatic Faust helplessly imprisoned, a demonstration of the correctness of the Mephistophelean cynicism about man's nature, but Gounod never finished the story as Goethe did. For in the great German poet's Part II, Faust slowly and painfully redeems himself by acts of unselfish love for humanity, and at last demonstrates triumphantly the answer of the Almighty when Mephisto first laid down his cynical challenge:

"A good man, through obscurest aspirations,
Has still an instinct for the one true way."

The United States "better get on the ball quickly" if it is not already working on a "station in space," says Dr. Lincoln La Paz.

La Paz, director of the University of New Mexico's Institute of Meteoritics, . . . is concerned with military use of such bodies. In dead earnestness, he declares:

"The nation first establishing a station in space will win absolute control of the earth.

"If the Russians do it first, we and the rest of the world will become just as tractable as they want us to be. . . ."

How would a space station achieve absolute military domination of the earth?

"First," La Paz answers, "by providing an ideal site from which to keep hostile areas under telescopic and radar scrutiny. Such a station would speed around the earth every two hours.

"Second, if retaliation becomes necessary, by employing the station in space as a site from which to launch and guide missiles armed with atomic or hydrogen warheads."

—Associated Press, March 22, 1954

Conspiracy of Conformists

by NORBERT WIENER

I HAVE BEEN ASKED to say a few words about the Oppenheimer affair. I don't believe one word of the charges in so far as they go beyond the facts admitted by Dr. Oppenheimer himself. In spite of sporadic Fuchs' cases, disingenuousness and indirection are acts directly opposed to the interest in truth which should be, and generally has been, the motivation of the scientist. Dr. Oppenheimer has been too closely identified with his own science for too long a period, and has been too much in the focus of public attention, for any fundamental departure from decent and honorable standards not to have been noticeable for a long time.

It is my opinion that Dr. Oppenheimer has committed none of the wrongs of which he has been accused by Washington's professional informers. The charges against him are certain to backfire on the tribe of headhunters; yet I am greatly afraid that the revulsion of public opinion which is bound to occur in his favor may lead to a false glorification of a new sort of scientist. In the first place, since the

Top mathematician Norbert Wiener stopped "playing with hellfire" himself soon after the end of World War II, when he announced that he would do no more work for the military. He is on the faculty at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is author of *The Human Use of Human Beings*. This article appeared originally in *The Nation* and is reprinted by permission.

middle of the last war the scientist has assumed the new form of the "Megabuck" scientist, who is not interested in any project in which the investment is less than a million dollars. If the life of any scientist is to be so mixed with that of the entrepreneur and the arrivists, it would not be surprising for him to change from an ascetic to a worldly man, worshiping success. Any such scientist, participating in what has become a moving crap game, must expect to get slugged occasionally. In fact, the amazing thing to me is that even though the scientists have been playing big business for fifteen years, their austere decencies are not altogether extinct.

Like many scientists in his position, Dr. Oppenheimer has been playing with hell-fire. Let us hope his services in alerting the American people to the imminent dangers of the atomic bomb accomplished something to justify the risks of this course of conduct. Those who are now throwing stones at him have no shadow of such a moral justification. Dr. Oppenheimer, whatever his attitude to the A-bomb, has been unable to stomach the unrestricted use of the H-bomb. In doing this he has taken a considerable personal loss, in addition to exposing himself to a dangerous persecution.

The essential point of the whole dispute between Dr. Oppenheimer and his accusers is that it is taking place at a time when there is a certain amount of pressure to use the most horrible forms of atomic warfare in a preventive war. Such a proposal could not stand up for five minutes before the informed conscience of mankind or indeed, before the informed conscience of any great country. It is therefore necessary for those behind the scenes who secretly support this expedient to see to it that public opinion concerning it be ill-informed. Much has already been done toward achieving this goal, but to complete it to the last degree it is necessary to discredit those few people on the inside of atomic projects who know and care about the facts and their moral meaning.

To eliminate these people means literally to let all hell loose. Thus, whether we fully approve of everything they have done or not, whether or not we have considered them sufficiently sensitive to have gone the limit in protesting against the first use of the atomic bomb, against the reduction of physics from a science to a conspiracy of conformists, and against their own share in many other evils of the time, we must defend them and ourselves against the utter brutality and ignorance of their accusers. Dr. Oppenheimer has spoken of the sense of guilt of the modern scientist, but I fail to see much sackcloth and ashes being worn at the present moment. I can only wish that there went with the new sense of guilt a sense of contrition and a willingness to do penance. A belated revival of conscience is better than none.

The West spends more on arms than Asia has for everything. Arms bill of the NATO countries for 1953 is $63½ billion, which exceeds the total income of all the people of Asia (in 1949, latest available figures) by $13½ billion.

—Source UN Statistical Papers E/3 (New York, 1951). *Peace News.*

Decision at 60,000 Feet

by WYMAN SPALDING

I AM A PILOT. Why? Because I love to fly. The massive surge of mighty engines harnessed to a slender wing, the sleek lines of the fuselage, the slick way everything works: landing gear, flaps, throttles, even the click of the doors. The thrill of freedom when the pull of the earth is overcome by aerodynamic lift. I love to be airborne more than almost anything else. I said *almost* anything. I'm not crazy. I'm nuts about flying, but I'm not crazy.

I love life. I love it more than flying. Many's the time I've taken my ship back to the line, because it didn't "check out." Once or twice I've been careless about the weather, and got into it *good*. Some power much bigger than me or my ship pulled us through, those times. I know that. I've investigated many crashes. I know what happens when that power doesn't pull a ship and its crew through. (Not much need to dwell on it, but it's not much like dying of old age!)

I love children too. Every one of them, even when he's being a pain in the neck, is a promise that life is eternal. Every child is that promise. Children aren't meant to die.

So much for preliminaries.

Something has happened to me. But how? And why? Just take a look at me. Here I am up in the air. Way up. So damn high you get a feeling of being detached from the human race altogether. (That was unnerving at first, but I got used to it.) Under the seat of my pants I have the fastest, most powerful, highest flying ship a nation of experts could devise. With me I have a crew of young guys who are tops. *But not one of us is happy.*

For some time we've been making trips like this. Take-off. Altitude. Check-point. Maybe couple more check-points. IP. Run. Drop.

Return. Land. It's become completely routine. The only one who really has much of a workout is the navigator. (What do we drop? Nothing sometimes. Sometimes tin cans loaded with sand. *But it could be something else.*)

Just now, sitting up here, I realize how easy it has become—how easy it will be to go somewhere else with. . . .

I see Joe, the navigator, coming forward to me now. He has a sealed envelope in his hands. It would be just like that. Joe coming up to the cockpit with the sealed envelope, saying quietly: "These are the instructions G-2 gave me this morning." Tearing open the envelope. "Your destination is . . . bearing 47°M from check-point F3 in Grid Q7. You have been loaded with H. Good luck."

Good luck! Holy cow. In that place there will be about ten million people. One in ten is a child, maybe. One million children. Think of all the little dresses that would make on a clothesline from here to there. Or baseball mitts. Dolls, diapers, baby-carriages. Locks of golden hair. Think of the smiles. The golden, tinkling laughter.

Why am I going over there to do that—to make a filthy, smoking smear of all that fragile joy created with suffering but confirming the hope of eternal life? Why me? Because I am ordered to? For the fat pay-check every month from the Finance Department which isn't paving my way to security because the way I have to live, from pillar to post, takes all of it, somehow, just when I think I'm getting ahead? For a mere existence I smear a million kids? For glory? For . . .?

My God, here comes Joe sure enough. He has an envelope in his hand. Sealed. He's coming toward

me with a strained smile on his face.

"Hi, Skipper! Got a letter from Mary. No time to open it before take-off. Thought you'd like to hear. She'll be telling what the doctor said. Just a minute. Yeah! Hey, Skipper! What do you know! I'm going to be a poppa."

He is wreathed in grins that are too full of happiness to stay put on one face.

"By the way, Skipper. Course change in just three minutes. 180. Straight home."

I'm not telling Joe, but this is my last trip. My resignation goes in first thing in the morning. There are other things to do, other ways to make a living.

Next time I see my own two kids I want to be able to look them in the face.

Starting as of now, brother, someone else can have my job; I won't answer for him. But for myself I answer, I'm not a pilot any more. I'm an ex-pilot. I've joined the human race.

We could do without it!

I HAVE the instinct," writes Scottish preacher George MacLeod, "that the initiative is now with the pacifists."*

If that is so in Britain, which has reacted vigorously to the H-bomb news, it has certainly not evidenced itself as yet in the United States. After the first appalled gasp that ran across the nation in early April, interest in the H-bomb diminished rapidly. The country glued its eyes and ears to television and radio to follow the McCarthy-Army hearings, and if it worried, it worried about the possibilities of an economic "recession" and of embroilment in Indo-China, in that order.

It doesn't make sense. It is doubtful if there has ever been a more revolutionary development in man's history than the development of the hydrogen bomb. Certainly there has been none in modern times to compare with it in universal significance.

Wars we have had always. Small wars, big wars, localized wars and continental or global wars. They have been tragically destructive: some of them have set back a continent for generations. What they have never done is to threaten the annihilation of entire populations! What they have never endangered is the actual continuance of life on the planet.

These things the hydrogen bomb does. In the face of them, every other consideration pales into relative insignificance.

It would be a terrible thing if

* *Showdown for the Church.* Page 13.

the world, or a large part of it, were to come under Communist domination, but it is hysteria to say that such a prospect would be less desirable than the obliteration of life from the planet, or even from vast sections of it. People go on living under communism, as they have lived under other tyrannies. Men can dream of freedom, and even work for it, under communism, as they have dreamed and worked for it under other tyrannies. Eventually communism would topple, as other tyrannies have toppled, corrupted and weakened by its own evils, and men could build a free society again. But none of these things can happen if man himself ceases to exist!

So also the twin threats of communism and war pose real dilemmas for many Christians, as most pacifists realize, but what good end can justify a Christian in the obliteration bombing of a continent? What sin could be worse than that of wiping out every living creature over a vast area? At what point would a Christian draw the line if not at the point of willingness to endanger the very existence of humankind?

Pacifism's Relevance

These are the realities of an H-bomb age. They are the realities that make the relevance of pacifism more urgent than ever, though unfortunately they do not mean that people generally will be brought to recognize that fact. Pacifism says that war is wrong, and that war with H-bombs and A-bombs is so atrociously sinful that the moral and religious man cannot consistently support it. But pacifism also says several other things.

1. *The choice is not necessarily between conquest and war.* The alternative to the armaments race and hydrogen war does not have to be weak surrender. The strength of the Communist appeal is not in its armies and atom bombs, but in the promises of a better, richer life it holds out to the world's millions of underprivileged peoples. The corollary of this is that the United States has never been less popular than now when it is strongest, and when it seems to be coming to the defense of the most reactionary regimes in the world. There is a third way that involves neither war nor surrender: a whole-hearted effort to bring both freedom and material aid to the whole world.

2. *The choice must be very nearly total.* There is no easy way out. The people who put their hopes in the United Nations, or world government, underestimate the depth of the crisis and the extent of the changes that are needed. To counter communism effectively, Americans would have to be prepared to make real material sacrifices to help the millions who are underfed and without hope. This means a change in some of the basic values by which America lives today. (Ironically, if such a shift of values occurred, the money and effort our country now puts into its military establishment would be enough to make a very large impact on the world's need.)

3. *A peace effort would have to replace the war effort.* It is not possible to go in opposite directions at the same time, and it is not possible to carry on a major peace effort while carrying on a major war effort. Many non-pacifists acknowledge much of what has gone before, but will not face this

fact. They talk of armaments as "gaining time" in which to make "constructive efforts," and do not see that armaments absorb our efforts and confuse our thinking to the point where "constructive efforts" are impossible. In the same way, supporters of the "we-will-if-they-will" disarmament argument ignore the historic fact that "they" won't because we don't, and that the condition becomes the excuse for inaction on both sides.

Unilateral Disarmament

The pacifist would have his country disarm, unilaterally. He would have it do so because war, especially when fought with hydrogen bombs and poisons, is an unmitigated evil that cannot help but leave things worse than they were at the start. He would have it do so because war is now thoroughly impractical and far too dangerous to contemplate, threatening as it does the very existence of humankind. And, finally, he would have it disarm because only by disarming can it summon up the moral and physical energy to cope in a more creative way with the issues that underlie the world struggle.

For millions of desperate people, communism today appeals as the lesser of two evils. For them, the mere announcement that the United States was "getting out of the war business" and preparing to undertake a cooperative world campaign against hunger, disease and exploitation, would bring an enormous lift of hope and a new surge of friendliness for our country and for democracy. This is the only effective way in which communism can be combatted.

4. *Even so, it might fail.* Someone wrote, of the present era, that "the air is filled with chickens coming home to roost." Centuries of shameful exploitation of the masses of Asia and Africa by European and American whites have created a huge reservoir of resentment. Decades of economic arrogance have changed to hostility the warm affection the world once felt for the "great democracy of the West." It may be that too much evil has been piled up for even such a program to stave off war and invasion.

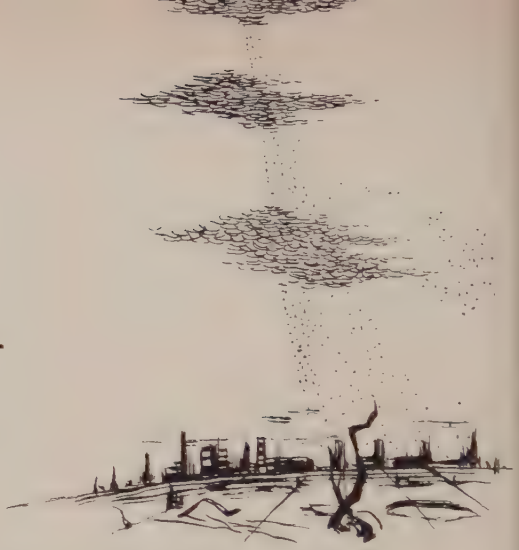
In such case, the pacifist still would counsel rejection of the methods of war. His conviction would stand that no good end can be achieved through such colossally evil means, and that it would be better even that a nation perish at the hands of its enemy than that it lose its soul in the corruption of turning whole continents into deserts of mourning and death.

If conquest by military means should come in spite of the campaign of good will and help—which the pacifist believes unlikely—then he would advocate nonviolent resistance to the invader by individuals and groups, and continuous courageous devotion to the ideal of freedom, trusting that in the good time of God there would come release.

"Charity and unity have always been duties; in the age of the atom bomb they are necessities. They are as essential to the continuation of civilization as air is to the lungs, bread to the belly."—**G. Thibon**

The Bomb That Fell on America

By Hermann Hagedorn



The Lord He lifted me up, and the Lord He set me down.
In a withered city He set me down, a city of ghosts,
Pointing accusing fingers, accusing fingers at me.
"Face if you can," said the Lord, "the dead of Hiroshima."
I fled, shrieking.
"Cain, Cain, where is your brother?"
The words were the Lord's, out of the seas and the mountains:
"Cain, Cain, your brother?"
"Not Cain! No, No! Not I!"
"Who else?" said the Lord. "Between earth and heaven, who else?"

Again He lifted me up, again He set me down.
In a desert, He set me down, as once, when He laid my heart
Beside Another's, and I saw it for what it was.
That desert was dark as the darkest of earth's waste places,
But this was black as men's dead hope, and wild as their despair;
And, at my feet a cross, a bare cross, lay; there, at my feet, a cross.
I choked, I shook, I wept. "Why, Lord, I? In this place?"
"To show you the world that will be, unless you make it otherwise."
"The world that will be?"
"Shards and fragments, rubble and poisoned winds."

"Shards and fragments," I repeated and kept repeating,
"Rubble and poisoned winds," over and over, hearing,
Through my own words, those others: "Cain, where is your brother?"
"The cross?" I gasped. "For whom, the cross?" The Lord
Seemed to envelop me and, without His saying,
I knew for whom the cross was, who was to carry it
And to be nailed upon it, suffer, and die, and live.
"Lord, who am I, that I . . ." The faint words faltered.
The Lord's voice was a father's, tender and strong:
"You are nobody, and you are a multitude. You are nobody, and
you are all men who have laid their hands in Mine."
The ruins before me heaved like a human thing,
Heaved and tossed, and moaned like a man dying.
"Cain, Cain your brother?" . . . "Fragments and poisoned winds."
I bent, and put my shoulder under the cross.
Daybreak came to the East, and day spread over the West.
I heard a Voice speaking my name, and there,
Beside me in the morning's deepening light,
Stood One whom I had seen upon a cross
In a dark desert; and I knew, henceforth,
He would be always at my side, and I,
Guided, accompanied, upheld, made strong,
Would somehow bring the nations to His feet.
Love seemed to pour upon the earth
Like rain. The thirsty earth drank; and from high
Beyond my seeing, all who live or have ever
Lived in time, or beyond time, sang together
The song of God's assurance, and man's hope:
"There is power in the human soul
When you break through and set it free.
Like the power of the atom,
More powerful than the atom,
It can control the atom,
The only thing in the world that can.
I told you that the atom is the greatest force in the world save one.
That one is the human soul!"

H-bomb Victims Petition U.N.

Leading citizens of the Marshall Islands have petitioned the United Nations to urge them to ask America to stop experimenting with atomic weapons in the area of their homeland. They said that some of the inhabitants of the atolls of Rongelap and Utirik were suffering from sickness due to radioactivity. Their blood count was lowered, they were suffering from burns, nausea and the falling out of hair. Much danger might have been avoided, they went on, if they had been aware that the water which they drank was radioactive.

The U.S. Ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, said the U.S. "was very sorry indeed."

Tacoma Voices Own Hydrogen Bomb Protest

Before getting word of the national F.O.R. protest against continued Administration experimentation with hydrogen weapons in the Pacific, the Tacoma, Washington F.O.R. formulated and began circulating one of its own. This petition goes even further than the one adopted by the F.O.R. National Council in that it requests complete renunciation of the use of such "weapons of widespread death," and asks the U.S. to lead the nations of the earth in outlawing nuclear weapons and in moving, "before it is too late," toward universal disarmament.

Several hundred signatures were obtained and much publicity in the Tacoma *News Tribune,* thanks to a sympathetic editor. Two editorials and many letters to the editor on the subject were printed throughout April, including this thoughtful question of Mrs. Maude Richard: "Are we any more secure because we have developed a bomb which can tear the very earth asunder, contaminate the life of the waters of the sea, pollute the very air we breathe and destroy human beings as though they were so many flies?"

In the meanwhile, the number of signatories to the national petition has risen to almost 8,000.

Presents Query to U.N. on Trusteeship

Martin B. Haase of Belmont, Mass., was successful in raising the issue of the treatment of the Marshall Islands before the U.N. Trusteeship Council. His letter to Dr. Ralph Bunche, director of the Council, was circulated to all 15 member nations and then made public without comment.

The letter raises several questions: "Is the complete destruction of an island, leaving 'only a hole a mile across' and the rendering uninhabitable of a great area the proper conduct for a 'trustee'? What action is the U.N. and the Department in particular taking to prevent further destructive action by the U.S., or does your department approve of the atomic obliteration of lands under its protection?"

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Albert Schweitzer

DOCUMENTS OF HUMANITY

Compiled by K. O. Kurth
Foreword by Albert Schweitzer

Determined to break the pattern of revenge that leads to unending war, a group of the 15,000,000 German expellees who were driven from their homes after World War II sent out an appeal over the radio and through the press asking for reports of acts of compassion received from enemy hands during the terror-filled trek. This book is a selection from the enormous response that poured in from the simple and the well-educated, the professional man and the farmer, the young and the old. Rich in dramatic tale as well as touching incident, this unique testimony of hope may "serve to liberate man from the still powerful bondage of hatred and fortify his resolution to be compassionate under all circumstances of life, to be *man* to men."—Albert Schweitzer.

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National Church Council Puts Off H-bomb Action

Although hardly a week passes without some church organization making an appeal to the Administration or to the U.N. for some action on the hydrogen bomb crisis, the National Council of Churches, through its general board, has tabled (until September) its first policy statement on the issue. Objections were raised against the proposed statement by a representative of the Russian Orthodox Church of North America.

The statement would have put the National Council on record as calling upon "the forces of Christendom on both sides of the Iron Curtain" to support a disarmament program that would avert the threat to hydrogen war and at the same time make possible the release of nuclear energy for peace purposes.

One department of the National Council of Churches, United Church Women, did speak out, however, against future bomb tests "as would endanger the lives and food supplies of our own or other peoples."

Delegates to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., meeting late in May, urged the federal government "to seek continually the views of other nations in the development of its policy regarding the possible use of hydrogen and atomic bombs" and, further, called upon it "to refrain from unilateral decision which would be based upon any policy of 'massive retaliation' through the use of instruments of mass extermination."

In June, American Baptists asked for an end to U.S. tests of atomic or hydrogen weapons and issued a plea that U.N. continue its quest for universal enforceable disarmament, while the executive committee of the Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service called upon Mr. Dulles and Congress to support the President's assurance that the United States would not initiate use of the H-bomb. "Fear engendered by the H-bomb," the committee said, "has generated a world crisis that calls Christians to new dedication to the responsibility of working to outlaw such weapons."

"Man cannot serve both Christ and the bomb," observed the service agencies of the Friends, Mennonites and Brethren on Good Friday. That observation seems to be getting wider and wider support among the churches.

Harkness Writes Ecumenical Hymn

For the occasion of the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches convening in Evanston, Ill. this August, Dr. Georgia Harkness has written a new ecumenical hymn. Dr. Harkness is a member of the faculty of the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. and also of F.O.R. Her hymn, entitled "Hope of the World," was chosen the best from nearly five hundred submitted in a contest conducted by The Hymn Society of America. Along with ten runners-up, it appears in a pamphlet obtainable from the Hymn Society at 2268 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City.

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An Appreciation

In recording the death of J. Henry Carpenter, the F.O.R. praises God for his service of 20 years as a member of our pacifist company. In the Church, in his community and in the world he was as the leaven of the kingdom of God leavening the kingdoms of violence, racial discrimination and economic greed. He did not hide the light that was in him but in innumerable ways toiled daily to let the light shine.

Besides his well known services to the Brooklyn Council of Churches of which he was Secretary, he threw himself heart and soul into the cooperative movement, into work for interracial fellowship and the pacifist cause. He did this on a global scale.

He was the foremost backer of Kagawa in this country and made a 43,000 mile trip to China and India in 1942 in the interests of cooperatives. Ten years later he was denied a passport to Japan by the State Department because of his pacifist opposition to the rearming of Japan. In 1949 he was honored by the Kings County Council of Jewish War Veterans as "Brooklyn's most outstanding interfaith leader" for that year.

Dr. Carpenter raised funds for and helped a number of enterprises, among them K. K. Chandy's ashram in India, the Church Peace Mission in the U.S. and the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship. He held positions of trust on committees of the National Council of Churches and was the New York staff correspondent of *The Christian Century.*

And he was a beloved person:

"One who never turned his back
but marched breast forward.
Never doubted clouds would
break,
Never dreamed, though right
were worsted, wrong would
triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled
to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

—JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

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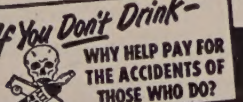

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Brattleboro Debates Pacifism and COs

An extended town-wide controversy was set off in Brattleboro, Vt. in mid-May when four members of that town's Fellowship of Reconciliation appealed to the school board for permission to explain to high school students the draft status of conscientious objectors. "It all began at our meeting of May 19," writes Christopher Fried, a CO employed at Brattleboro Retreat. "Philip Scott, driver-training instructor at the high school, told us that Navy and Wave officers, and subsequently a Marine officer, had been telling students, at compulsory assemblies, about the advantages of enlisting in these branches of the Armed Forces. Some of our members felt that this should be protested; others, that it should be ignored. But the action agreed on by the majority was that we should ask for permission to speak on the alternatives offered by the law to conscientious objectors."

The school board, after a heated discussion, denied the request. The editor of the Brattleboro *Daily Reformer,* besides giving good coverage of the board meeting, put forth a compromise suggestion to the effect that the Selective Service law, with all its ramifications, be fully explained each year to young men approaching their 18th years, preferably by someone "with no axe to grind and fully able to answer all questions."

At a hastily called meeting of the F.O.R., it was agreed by the 31 individuals present to accept this compromise and to publicly say so in a letter to the paper. The letter appeared in the June 4 issue, but so did a story headlined: "Legion Opposes Preaching of Pacifism to Students, Urges Board to Deny F.O.R.; Judge Gibson Denounces It as Propaganda." Thus the Legion got into the fray, mainly by directing a resolution to the citizens of Brattleboro charging the F.O.R. with being a propagandist organization and "by its own declaration, not a religious group which truly espouses the opposition to killing of man."

The F.O.R. sent another letter to the *Reformer,* answering the charges and announcing that it would send representatives to a forthcoming school board meeting to balance the Legion's representation there. Both sides had an opportunity to speak at the meeting.

What the controversy left in its wake: a strong possibility that from now on high school students will learn, from an impartial or official source, *all* the provisions of the draft law and that Army and other officers will not appear before students at compulsory assemblies to plead the virtues of military life; good public opinion in Brattleboro for the F.O.R. (all the letters to the editor the *Reformer* carried were pro-F.O.R. or pro-pacifism, while the three editorials were uncommonly fair); three or four speaking engagements and debate openings for Christopher Fried; an increased awareness, on the part of Brattleboro citizens, of what the F.O.R. is and is not.

ADVERTISEMENTS

F.O.R. OFFICE manager wishes part time work in New York area. CPA (Illinois). Former U.S. internal revenue agent. Can undertake write-ups, per diem work, system installations. Abe Goldstein, 1127 Leland Avenue, Bronx 72, UNderhill 3-6125, or c/o F.O.R.

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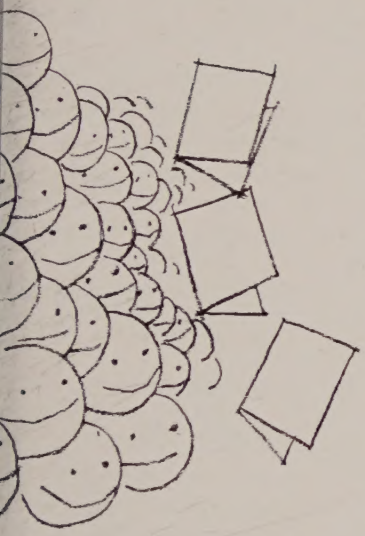

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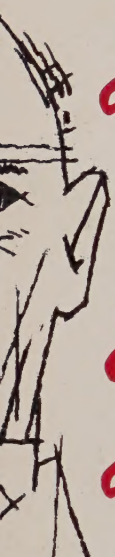

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